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Night Work for Women

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BULLETIN OF THE

WOMEN'S BUREAU

NO. 233

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

Maurice J. Tobin, Secretary

WOMEN'S BUREAU

Frieda S. Miller, Director

DATE DUE

MAY 11 2014

PRINTED IN U.S.A.

Letter of Transmittal

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR,
WOMEN'S BUREAU,
Washington, June 3, 1949.

SIR: I have the honor to transmit a report on night work for women in hotels and restaurants. If night work for women has been condemned, it has also been recognized that some night work is necessary in our highly complex industrial society. Conditions under which women worked in the 19th century have undergone tremendous changes. The Women's Bureau therefore regards it an appropriate contribution to the current consideration of the question to issue this report based on a survey of night work in hotels and restaurants in a few selected areas. These industries were chosen chiefly because of the current pressure to withdraw restrictive legislation on night employment in restaurants in a few States and because these industries are an important source of jobs for women.

The survey was planned and the investigation conducted by the Research Division of the Women's Bureau. The report was prepared by Winifred F. Kerschbaum under my direction.

Respectfully submitted.

FRIEDA S. MILLER, *Director.*

Hon. MAURICE J. TOBIN,
Secretary of Labor.

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Night Work for Women in Hotels and Restaurants

PART I

The Problem of Night Work in Its Historical Setting

INTEREST IN CONTROL

Night work has been generally condemned by groups and agencies concerned with problems of social welfare and the improvement of conditions surrounding the employment of women. Public and private welfare agencies, labor unions, and the International Labor Office have generally agreed that night work for women is undesirable and have actively promoted legislative proposals for control. Management has itself lent support to this view. Experience has often led management to conclude that performance is less efficient on night shifts, and that women particularly suffer from fatigue, demonstrated by lowered efficiency, absenteeism, and a higher morbidity rate. The experiences of management with difficulties attendant upon the use of night shifts, including problems of supervision and general organization, have led to an increasing hesitation to operate at night. The justification for such usage has been looked upon as a matter of economic expediency, and the attitudes of management toward night work have varied greatly with the general state of industrial efficiency, with the special demands for output wrought by wars, and with the particular requirements of an industry of which night work may seem to be a necessary ingredient.

The attitude of labor toward night work for women is less easily delineated. That night work is generally speaking considered less desirable, is demonstrated by labor's demands for a wage differential in union contracts in many industries where night work is a customary practice. While it is often accepted by labor as necessary, a premium wage rate is demanded to offset its inconvenience. In some areas organized labor has in the past supported the movement to control night work and in some important instances has made a determined effort to achieve it for men as well as for women. However, the question of how far the prohibition of night work restricts the employment opportunities of women has in certain special occupations often been a matter of controversy. Organized women workers have from time to time opposed legislative controls because they objected to what they considered a restriction of their opportunities to compete on equal terms with men, while at the same time other groups of organized women workers have supported such controls.

THE NATURE OF THE CONCERN

Health and Morals

Concern about night work, whether for men or for women, has centered chiefly about two general phases, its harmful physiological effects and its undesirable social consequences. The first relates to the health of workers, and the second has to do with the problems of social hazards, disruption of family living, the requirements for the proper care of chil-

dren, and the deprivation of opportunities for recreation and participation in community life.

For women these effects have been considered particularly serious on two grounds—that they were physically less strong and hence more subject to fatigue and that women workers bore the dual responsibility of wage earner and homemaker. It is upon these general welfare grounds that legislation prohibiting or regulating the employment of women at night was promoted and was finally upheld in this country by the courts.

The effects of night work upon the health of women workers has for some years been the subject of more controversy than any other phase of the problem. Prior to World War I there was a wide acceptance of the view that night work resulted in serious detriment to the health of women. The argument centered chiefly about a belief that man was a "diurnal" rather than a "nocturnal" animal and a reversal of his habits was contrary to nature. Therefore daytime sleep was inferior in value to sleep at night in bringing about recovery from fatigue. While applicable to both men and women, it was particularly serious for women in view of their lesser strength and their physiological function of child-bearing.¹

Scientific research in the period between the two World Wars now indicates that a reversal of functions is quite possible because it is not conditioned by a cosmic force, but rather by internal physiological factors which operate in relation to bodily or mental activity. This means that sleep by day can be in quality equal to that of sleep at night provided the necessary time to complete a reversal of functions is allowed, and provided of course that social factors do not intervene to make sleep difficult to achieve. This change in point of view about the problem of daytime sleep was very important in directing the emphasis in investigation to a treatment of the problem of shift patterns, and much of the literature of the past 10 years is devoted to the consideration of what type of shift best enables the worker to reverse his sleep habits with a minimum of harm.² Progress in this direction has, however, not resolved the practical difficulties of obtaining adequate sleep by day.

That women are more subject to fatigue at night because of their weaker physical structure has also been challenged by on-the-job studies and medical research. While evidence from efficiency and fatigue studies has often been in conflict, the preponderant opinion is that while women sometimes have a lower efficiency rate than men, the explanation is not to be found in their lower physical stamina, but in their greater practical difficulties in getting daytime sleep. Says an expert in industrial hygiene, "The influence of night work on sickness and output has been discussed without any very conclusive evidence. Some people believe that night work is physiologically unsound since it interferes with the normal diurnal variation of the body, but there is no definite proof that this is harmful and no evidence to indicate any specific effect upon women as compared with men."³

The question of fatigue, however, cannot be resolved so easily. If there is no physical reason why sleep is not possible by day, nor why

¹ For detailed statement including medical and social testimony, see Brandeis, L., and Goldmark, J. *The Case Against Night Work for Women*. Revised with new introduction to March 1, 1918. National Consumers League, 289 4th Ave., New York. pp. 1-46.

² See "Bibliography on Night Work for Women." U. S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, August 1946, for recent views.

³ Baetjer, Anna M. *Women in Industry*. Philadelphia, Pa., W. B. Saunders Co., 1946. p. 26.

women cannot work by night, there may still be social reasons why fatigue remains a problem. Daytime sleep is complicated for both men and women by factors which are difficult to control. The noises within a household, and the noises of a city awake and active, the psychological disturbance created in the worker who needs to sleep when the rest of his world is awake and busy, all combine to create distractions which make sleep more difficult to achieve. For women the problem is greatly increased by the domestic responsibilities of housekeeping, child care, and the variety of duties that accompany the running of a household—shopping, mending, cleaning, washing. The accumulated testimony of years of investigation tends to substantiate the conclusion drawn long ago that women, more than men, suffer from fatigue on night work because adequate sleep by day is impossible for the worker who leaves work to assume a multitude of domestic responsibilities.

The elimination of the purely physiological argument against night employment either for men or women, assuming that scientific opinion warrants it, clarifies the problem to the extent that it leaves for further study the practical issue of how far it is possible for workers, and women especially, to so organize their lives as to assure a proper amount of sleep. The many facets of this question cannot be elaborated here, but obviously depend upon a multitude of variables—including the personal qualities and abilities of the workers, their general standards of living, the extent of their domestic responsibilities, and many other factors of an individual nature.

The moral implications of night work for women dominated the thinking of the leaders of reform in the period prior to the First World War. The concrete expression of this concern was couched in terms which to the current generation may seem quaint. The full impact of this emphasis can only be appreciated, however, by realizing that those who were fighting night work were also fighting in a larger sense the encroachment of industrialism upon the family and other social institutions, which are integral parts of a well-ordered society. Night work was only one part of a total situation about which they were concerned. Their convictions arose out of direct experience with general conditions in the factory and home environment to which women were subjected. It was unnecessary to provide "scientific" evidence about conditions which were apparent. Common sense indicated that the working woman's lot was bad enough without adding the hazards of night work.

More recent students of the night-work problem present a point of view about moral hazards less broad in scope and directed toward the practical problem of minimizing hazards. Recognizing potential hazards for the woman night worker one writer says, "the possibility of annoyance or criminal assault may be a problem either in the plant or in transit where women live at some distance from the industry. To combat this many industries end the swing shift earlier than that for men, so that they can leave the plant before the men, and some industries have found it desirable to supply transportation for their women employees during the night hours."⁴

⁴ Idem.

Night Work and Other Problems Involving Social Welfare

Although the effect of night work upon health and morals was given prominence in the earlier argument for its prohibition, the relationship of night work to other problems involving social welfare was also recognized. The matter of its effects upon the workers' family and personal life was again viewed as part of a total picture of working conditions. Says the late Justice Brandeis on the subject of the bad effect of night work on general welfare—"Night work inevitably destroys the family life which is essential for the welfare of the Nation. Women who work at night and try to make up sleep by day, must inevitably neglect domestic duties. They are deprived of the benefits of family intercourse and of all opportunities for recreation. This must necessarily react disastrously upon the community as well as upon the individual. For the deterioration of any large portion of the population inevitably lowers the entire community, physically, mentally and morally."⁵

The testimony to support such conclusions is also testimony to support the need for a general improvement in work standards. Many cases pictured the shocking conditions found in homes where all the family worked by turns in the mill, on 12-hour shifts. The conditions surrounding these working families were, however, so much a part of an industrial picture characterized by low standards of living, long hours, meager earnings, without the many improvements brought about later by social controls, that night work itself could not be differentiated from the general problem of employment conditions.

NIGHT WORK AND THE MOVEMENT TOWARD A SHORTER WORKDAY

The movement to control the employment of women at night had its origin in England in a period of rising concern about the abuses of the factory system. The first law prohibiting the employment of women at night was enacted in 1844 and covered only the cotton textile industry. This happened 11 years after the first real effort was made to enforce factory legislation through the appointment of full-time inspectors, which occurred at the same time that night work was forbidden to all under 18 years of age.

The establishment of these first laws followed many years of agitation against the evils accompanying the transition from a domestic to an industrial economy. The employment of women and children at starvation wages, crowded housing conditions, long hours—starting early in the morning and often ending in the night, unhealthful working conditions, were all accompaniments of a period in which "it was the fashion to think of men as things."⁶ It was a period in which the general impoverishment of the working classes was such that women and children were obliged to work at whatever cost. These conditions were especially characteristic of the textile industry toward which much of the early efforts at reform were directed. During the first half of the 19th century, the worst aspects of an unregulated factory system reached a peak.

⁵ Brandeis, L., and Goldmark, J. *The Case Against Night Work for Women*. Revised with new introduction to March 1, 1918. National Consumers League, 289 4th Ave., New York. p. 251.

⁶ Hammond, J. L., and Barbara. *The Rise of Modern Industry*. New York, Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1926. p. 195.

In the United States it was not until the period following the Civil War that industrialism reached a high state of development. Only then did employment of women and children in factories take place on a relatively large scale. The first enforceable law regulating hours for women became effective in Massachusetts in 1879, and the first law to prohibit night work for women was enacted in the same State in 1890. This first legislation was directed against the exploitation of women in the manufacturing industries, of which, as in England, the textile industry was an important employer of women, and it was in factories that most of the night work occurred. The ILO, in the various revisions of its night-work Convention for women, has limited restraints to "industrial undertakings" which include principally manufacturing, mining and construction.

The movement to control the employment of women at night has been closely linked with the general movement to gain a shorter workday. Indeed, the early legislation in England, France and in the United States, was directed at removing the undesirable effects upon women of an excessively long workday, rather than upon the elimination of the night shift, as night work is more commonly understood today. In that early period, the practice of overtime work, more than a night shift per se, was responsible for the employment of women beyond the normal day. Those working toward reform in England were therefore chiefly concerned about a growing practice of employing women in the textile industries at hours beginning at 5 or 6 in the morning and ending at 9 or 10 at night. The law as finally passed in 1844 prohibited employment between 8:30 p. m. and 5:30 a. m., a prohibition which was far short of the desired goal.⁷ Later the law was amended to cover other industries, and still later, amended to prohibit employment in the textile industry between 6 p.m. and 6 a.m. Likewise in France, those behind the movement to secure passage of the first Act (1892) regulating night work were concerned with the harmful effects of prolonged evening work that was common in dressmaking, millinery and certain other luxury industries.⁸

In the United States the early Massachusetts night-work law was a direct outgrowth of agitation to reduce the workday in textile mills where extension of hours for women to 9 or 10 p. m., following a long workday, was common. This interest in night-work prohibition as a means of controlling a long workday has persisted through the years when hours of work were either unregulated or when the maximum hours laws were difficult to enforce. The first night-work law in New York State, enacted in 1899,⁹ developed in part because factory inspectors reported that it was impossible to enforce the recently enacted 10-hour law for women, when the latter could be employed at any time of the day or night.

As late as 1914, the late Justice Brandeis said that, "Overtime work was the commonest form of night work,"¹⁰ and he stated further that,

⁷ The Law and Women's Work, Studies and Reports, Series 1, No. 4, p. 171, ch. V. International Labour Office, Geneva, 1939.

⁸ Ibid., p. 171.

⁹ U. S. Department of Labor. Women's Bureau, Bull. 66-II, Chronological Development of Labor Legislation for Women in the United States. Revised December 1931. Washington, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1932. p. 95.

¹⁰ Brandeis, L., and Goldmark, J. *The Case Against Night Work for Women*. Revised with new introduction to March 1, 1918. National Consumers League, 289 4th Ave., New York. p. 114.

"The establishment by law of uniform opening and closing hours is indispensable in order to enforce both the legal working day and the prohibition of night work."¹¹

The early emphasis upon the establishment of prohibited hours as a means of gaining a shorter workday and controlling the use of overtime is noteworthy because it is apparent that the objections to night work were mainly objections to a work period whose length disregarded need for rest, for leisure, and for family and community life. If humanitarian impulses led people to demand limits to the time at which women should be allowed to work, it was because they believed that employment from daybreak to long after dark, at jobs to which they were unaccustomed, and at a pace set by machines, must inevitably have disastrous effects upon health and well-being. There was no attempt to distinguish clearly between the evils of long hours, and those of night work—they were virtually the same.

As the shorter workday gradually became established through the enactment of legislation, through union activity, and general developments in industrial organization, night work began to be regarded as a separate problem. The "night shift" became a matter of increasing concern to those who felt that women needed protection, and the problem of work by night, as contrasted with long hours extended into the night, became more clearly differentiated.

Industry, in order to maintain continuous production for otherwise idle machinery, introduced additional shifts.¹² Towards the end of the nineteenth century, in some industries which employ large numbers of women, the number of establishments working night shifts increased from year to year, although technical processes did not require continuous operation. The threat of general adoption of night work was an important factor in preparations for the Berne Convention (1906), and signatories to this first convention restricting night work for women were fighting to prevent its spread.¹³

Attacks on long hours and night work in the United States were heaviest from the late nineties up to the First World War. The period between 1908 and 1917 particularly witnessed the spread of general hours legislation among most of the States, many of which adopted a 9- or 10-hour day, and some an 8-hour day. It was also a period in which women were employed on night shifts in certain industries, where technical processes did not necessitate night shifts. The textile industry is illustrative, and much of the concern about night work centered in this industry, as has been indicated.

Development of sound industrial practice in the cotton textile industry, which experienced a tremendous expansion in the nineteenth century, lagged behind that of other industries. Inefficiencies in management and severe competition for markets led management to make intensive use of equipment. When reformers inveighed against employers for using women on night shifts, the employer's answer was that he could not help

¹¹ Ibid., p. 361.

¹² "When the daily hours of work are reduced to less than half or to a third of the calendar day, there is a temptation to employ two or three successive shifts on the same equipment so as to recoup the cost of installation by a more intensive production." *The Law and Women's Work, Studies and Reports, Series 1, No. 4, p. 172, ch. V.* International Labour Office, Geneva, 1939.

¹³ *The Law and Women's Work, Studies and Reports, Series 1, No. 4, p. 172,* International Labour Office, Geneva, 1939.

it—so long as his competitors used them, he had to do so in order to survive. It was only after years of pressure from welfare groups, supported by the more forward-looking managers, that the textile industry concluded that night work was neither necessary nor efficient.

It should be noted that prior to the First World War there were only the beginnings of a "science" of management, and much less was then known about the factors determining the productivity of labor. The period beginning roughly at the First World War and the period following it brought many new developments. Among these was a continued trend toward the establishment of the 8-hour day, by legislation, by union activity and by custom. This trend, along with the tremendous requirements for output brought on by modern warfare, led to an extension of the use of three shifts in industry, or often two so-called day shifts. Under war conditions night work for women is generally accepted as a necessary practice to insure maximum output, with less than the usual regard for social costs.¹⁴

Following World War I the ILO first adopted its convention prohibiting night work for women in industrial undertakings. Although affirming the principles established by the Berne Convention of 1906, the convention of 1919 implied acceptance of the second or evening shift as day work, by continuing to define night work as the 10 p. m. to 5 a. m. shift. In the revisions of 1934 and 1948, there is apparent a marked tendency to regard only the third shift as night work, since the permitted hours have been gradually made more flexible to permit the operation of a two-shift system.¹⁵ Thus night-work legislation which meets the standards established by the ILO Convention will not affect control of the second shift, nor will it be a controlling influence in industries to which it is not applicable, such as hotels, restaurants, and mercantile establishments.

CONSTITUTIONALITY

While in the period prior to 1908 there was a great deal of interest in the passage of laws governing hours of work, the passage of enforceable laws and their effective administration were complicated by the problem of constitutionality. Early State court decisions were in conflict on maximum-hours legislation for women and unfavorable on night-work legislation. Prior to 1908, the United States Supreme Court, in a series of decisions, first sustained, then invalidated, maximum-hours legislation of general worker coverage. However, in 1908, in the first "women's law" to come before it, the Court upheld the constitutionality of the Oregon 10-hour law for women in the famous case of *Muller v. Oregon*.¹⁶

The progress of night-work legislation in the courts was similarly uneven. In 1907, the New York Court of Appeals (the highest New York court) declared unconstitutional the law prohibiting night work for adult women.¹⁷ Subsequently, a new law was enacted, which reached the Court of Appeals in 1915, and its constitutionality was sustained.¹⁸ The

¹⁴ In World War II many States with night-work laws continued to regulate night work through the permit system. For comprehensive analysis see *Women's Bureau Bulletin No. 202, pts. I and V.*

¹⁵ See Appendix B. Provisions of various revisions of International Labour Convention on night work.

¹⁶ 208 U. S. 412 (1908).

¹⁷ *People v. Williams*, 189 N. Y. 131 (1907).

¹⁸ *People v. Chas. Schweinler Press*, 214 N. Y. 395 (1915).

United States Supreme Court in 1924 upheld the constitutionality of the New York night-work law in the first such case to come before that Court.¹⁹

The extent to which the constitutional factor affects the enactment of laws regulating hours of work of women is open to question, but some students of the history of labor legislation are inclined to consider it an important factor. The period following 1908, when the constitutionality of women's maximum-hours legislation was established, was marked by the enactment of such laws by many States which had not previously had them, and the improvement of earlier laws by other States. However, the effect of a favorable court ruling on the enactment of night-work laws is less apparent. In the period between 1907, the date of the New York decision invalidating the original New York law, and 1924, when the United States Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the subsequent measure, the number of States with night-work laws increased from 4 to 18. Thereafter, several States improved their existing night-work laws and regulations, but only one State with no enforceable law in effect in 1924, New Jersey, adopted such a measure, and that addition was offset by the repeal of the night-work law in New Mexico.

NIGHT-WORK LEGISLATION TODAY

Since VJ-day, there has been a continuation of wartime pressures in some areas to relax night-work laws for women. No new States have adopted night-work legislation, one State (Ohio) has repealed its law applicable to adult women, and another State (Indiana) has continued until 1951 the wartime suspension of its law.

As of April 1, 1949, there were a total of 18 States with legislation either prohibiting or regulating night work for women. Included in this total are eight States which have taken some action on their night-work laws since the close of the war (California, Connecticut, Indiana, Massachusetts, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, and Pennsylvania). Aside from Indiana, in which the legislative action was for a temporary period, the postwar night-work legislation in all such States has resulted in relaxation of previously more stringent prohibitions or regulations for one or more industries. It should be noted, however, that in States in which the night-work law covered a number of different industries, the postwar legislative action did not necessarily involve all of them or affect them in the same way or to the same extent. Only one State, Ohio, relinquished all control, but this had applied to only one occupation.

In general, postwar action has been of two kinds. In a few States it consisted of an extension of the permitted hours of evening work for one or more industries, with the establishment of a later cut-off period at which the night-work prohibition becomes applicable.²⁰ In a larger number of States, postwar legislative action involved either the substitution

¹⁹ *Radice v. New York*, 264 U. S. 292 (1924).

²⁰ *New York* extended permitted hours from 11 p. m. to 12 p. m. in factories and restaurants, retaining previous cut-off hours for mercantile, elevator operators, beauty shops, and certain other industries. *Massachusetts* extended permitted hours from 10 p. m. in manufacturing and mechanical and 6 p. m. in leather and textiles to 11 p. m., retaining previous cut-off hours for mercantile, amusement places, messengers, and certain others.

of regulation for prohibition, or in a few cases, outright repeal of prohibitions in one or more industries.²¹

While, at the present time, 18 States have some kind of night-work legislation, there is wide variation in these laws with respect to the industries covered, the hours regulated and the significance for women. Five of the State laws do not prohibit night work for women in any industry but regulate it, usually limiting the hours worked to something less than the law in that State requires for day work, or prescribing regulations with respect to transportation and meals. Of the 13 remaining States which have prohibitory laws, 5 apply only to certain nonmanufacturing industries or occupations,²² 7 prohibit employment both in manufacturing and certain other nonmanufacturing industries or occupations, and 1 prohibits night work in manufacturing industries only.²³

Not only is State legislation limited in comprehensiveness, but there is a very considerable lack of uniformity in the definition of what constitutes night work. The hours prohibited start as early as 6 p. m. in one State (Wisconsin) and as late as 1 a. m. in another (Nebraska), although more States use 10 p. m. or 11 p. m. as the beginning of the prohibited period.

An examination of legislation in the United States with respect to industries and occupations subject to prohibition or regulation indicates how cautiously legislators have proceeded in imposing or removing restrictions. While very limited coverage cannot be attributed solely to considerations of business and economic welfare, these have undoubtedly been a factor. An example may be cited of legislation controlling night work in restaurants. Only five States have had such laws, and for the most part such occupations as cigarette girls, cloakroom attendants and other occupations accessory to night dining and entertainment, characteristically filled by women, have been exempt. Furthermore, hotels, roughly half of whose employees are restaurant workers, have been excluded from restriction.

NIGHT WORK AND THE MATTER OF NECESSITY

The determination of the extent to which night work should be prohibited in the interests of workers and the general social welfare has always been a more knotty problem than that of controlling the length of the workday and the workweek. While the arguments for a shorter workday have been both manifold and varied, there seems to be nothing inherent in our economic and social organization which makes impossible the general acceptance of a shorter workday. But, from the time the

²¹ *California* in the revision of its minimum-wage orders removed the requirement of permits for night work in manufacturing, personal service, and canning and preserving occupations orders, but retained the prohibition of night work in taxicab driving, in transportation order, and incorporated in all of its 1947 revised orders a requirement that suitable transportation must be available and provision for meals must be made. *Connecticut* repealed its prohibition of night work for all industries to which it applied, but expressly authorized the Commissioner of Labor to make regulations protecting health of women, prescribe adequate transportation facilities, and to prohibit night work where the employer fails to comply. *Ohio* repealed its night-work law for adult women which had applied only to ticket sellers. *North Dakota* in the revision of its minimum-wage orders removed night-work prohibitions for women in the mercantile industry and in laundry, dry cleaning and dyeing, but retained the prohibition for elevator operators in the public housekeeping occupation. *Pennsylvania* repealed its prohibitions applicable to manufacturing and "any establishment," provided that the employer complied with regulations of the Industrial Board, but directed that "applications for employment on a one- or two-shift basis shall be made to the Department of Labor."

²² In some instances only one occupation is covered, as in *North Dakota*, where the law applies only to elevator operators, and in *California* where the law prohibits the employment of women at night as taxicab drivers, or chauffeurs, automobiles for hire.

²³ For a full description of night-work legislation in effect in United States, see Appendix C.

question first arose, a certain amount of night work has been considered necessary. If night work has long been considered an evil of the industrial system, so it has also been considered to some extent essential. Even those most strongly convinced of the harmful effects of night work seem not to have considered the possibility of eradicating it completely. Public utilities, the transportation and communication industries upon which our highly urbanized and differentiated society depend; the "continuous process" industries which, due to the nature of present industrial techniques, require round-the-clock operation; the protective service occupations such as police, among others, have long been considered to be outside the realm of complete night-work prohibition. Although in many of these industries the employment of women is not numerically significant, some of these occupations, such as telephone operators, are those in which women predominate. The general attitude has been that in these customary women's occupations which are "essential," prohibitory legislation cannot reasonably be expected to apply.

Beyond these apparently indispensable productions and services the matter of necessity is by no means so easily defined. The question of how far management in other than these "essential" industries will consider the use of two or three shifts profitable, and therefore desirable, will depend upon many factors such as general business conditions, the length of the workday, customary demands for the product or services, the labor requirements attached thereto, and the availability of labor and plants.

The night services provided by the hotel and restaurant industries are an interesting instance of services accepted as part of our current social and economic organization, but not considered indispensable in the same sense in which telephone service or train service is indispensable. Hotels are in a somewhat different category from restaurants in that some night service is essential to the provision of sleeping accommodations.

The concern of recent years, aside from the war emergency period during which two and three shifts were used extensively, has centered chiefly around night employment in the service industries, mercantile establishments, and some miscellaneous occupations in which some night work is common.

Night Work in Hotels and Restaurants

INTRODUCTION

General Objectives

As Part I indicated, the problem of night work has many facets, not all of which lend themselves to analysis and evaluation by statistical methods. The need for answers to the many questions which have arisen in connection with the economic and social phases of night work has led the Women's Bureau to undertake an exploratory study of some of them. This study of the employment of men and women in hotels and restaurants at night was directed toward clarifying the following questions:

1. To what degree is "night work" essential to the conduct of these industries?
2. How extensive is night work in hotels and restaurants? Is it chiefly second-shift or third-shift employment?
3. Who is employed at night in hotels and restaurants, and what are the factors influencing the extent of night employment, particularly for women?
4. What are the general conditions surrounding night employment—the hours worked, the prevalence of wage differentials, the receipt of higher tips?
5. What are the attitudes of night workers toward such work?
6. What are the social or economic problems of night workers?
7. By what standards is the need for legislation, or other forms of social control to be determined?

Why Hotels and Restaurants Were Selected for Study

Since the close of World War II there has been pressure to repeal or modify the restrictions on night employment of women in restaurants, and concern about night work has therefore recently been focused upon this industry. Hotels were included chiefly because organizations of labor have jurisdiction over both industries, and some stimulus for the study came from this source. These industries together also offer a useful field of inquiry because they employ important numbers of women both in the aggregate and in significant proportions.

Hotels and restaurants are also industries in which some night work is a more or less permanent feature. In the case of hotels, round-the-clock operation, which is inherent to the industry, requires some night labor. With reference to the preparation and sale of food, night service has become an established practice, firmly entrenched as a demand of present-day living.

Description of the Areas Studied

This study is limited to a few selected areas, and therefore should not be considered generally representative of hotels and restaurants through-

out the United States.¹ The cities selected were in Connecticut, Indiana, and Georgia. Certain rural areas on highway routes leading into these cities were also included. These States were chosen partly because of possible regional differences in night employment, and also because each had a different experience with night-work legislation, and with other protective legislation relating to women.

The cities studied—Hartford, Indianapolis, and Atlanta—each had a population of more than 100,000 and each is a State capital.

Hartford is well known as an insurance center whose substantial "white collar" population accounts for one-fourth of its gainfully employed. In recent years, however, it has become increasingly important for its manufacturing with nearly a third of the gainfully employed engaged in these industries.

Indianapolis, which also has about a third of its working population engaged in manufacturing, is an important commercial center for the State. The city prides itself on having more conventions than many larger cities, and these contribute heavily to the hotel business. In 1947 it was host to more than 400 State and national conventions.

Due to its strategic location, Atlanta is a distributing center for the agricultural and industrial areas of the Southeast. Although characteristically a white-collar city, a fifth of Atlanta's working population is engaged in manufacturing, chiefly textiles, metal products, food, and apparel.

Legislation Affecting Women in the Areas Studied

Connecticut is the only one of the three States which has extensive legislation regulating the conditions under which women are employed.

At the time the study was made, Connecticut had a law which prohibited the employment of women at night in restaurants between the hours of 10 p. m. and 6 a. m. Effective June 9, 1947, an amendment to the law removed the prohibition for women 18 years of age and over, and substituted instead a regulatory measure, which gives the Labor Commissioner power to make health and welfare regulations and to require adequate transportation between the hours of 1 a. m. and 6 a. m.

Connecticut has had a maximum-hours law covering restaurants since 1917. The law in effect at the time the study was made specified a maximum 48-hour week, and a 9-hour day. It also has a minimum-wage law, but it has not issued an order for either hotels or restaurants. A follow-up study of the same establishments in Hartford was made in 1948 to inquire into possible effects of the change in the night-work law.

Indiana has a night-work law prohibiting the employment of women and minors in manufacturing establishments after 10 p. m. or under certain conditions, after midnight, but it has never had a similar law relating to hotels and restaurants. Suspension of this night-work law, first made during the war and retroactive to December 7, 1941, has been reenacted every two years since 1943, and at time of study the law had not been reinstated. Wartime needs for production furnished the im-

¹ See Appendix A for detailed statement of the methods used. The study should be viewed as experimental, and its primary use lies in a suggested method of approach to an investigation of night work, its problems, and the possible need for public control. The findings are therefore less important as statistical evidence. They have greater value in clarifying some of the issues concerning night work, and in suggesting the kinds of information required for sound judgments.

petus for the first suspension. Indiana has no maximum-hours law, and no minimum-wage law.

In Georgia the only law relating to women's hours is a statute establishing maximum hours for both men and women in the textile manufacturing industry. It has no night-work law and no minimum-wage legislation.

NIGHT WORK IN HOTELS

Description of the Industry

Historically, hotels have provided lodgings primarily and this is still their major function. The services attached to the provision of sleeping accommodations account for the preponderance of workers under the direction of hotel management. The services considered necessary to maintain this basic function have, however, become more elaborate and specialized with the growth of the large modern hotel.

Hotels have come to offer a great many additional facilities which, along with sleeping accommodations, have contributed to their importance as a community institution. Chief among these added facilities are restaurants, which are patronized by citizens of the community as well as by the hotel guest. Hotels are centers for conventions, business and social gatherings, concerts, lectures, private dances, and many other activities. The typical modern hotel is therefore often "not simply a lodging place but a complex organization offering many kinds of service to its guests, from providing them with food, and doing their laundry, to helping them get theater tickets and make travel arrangements."²

These various extra services affect the number of people employed in hotels, but these services are often leased and they are not included in the Census definition of hotel employment unless owned and operated by the hotel. In contrast to other auxiliary services, hotel restaurants are frequently owned and managed by the hotel and they constitute an important part of all hotel employment. Other auxiliary services are of interest in the present study chiefly because they help to explain the importance of hotels as community institutions.

Hotels are of three general types: commercial, catering chiefly to transients; residential, catering to those who like the convenience of permanent hotel living; and resort hotels (seasonal hotels operating less than 9 months in a year), catering to vacationers. Three-fourths of the country's hotels are those which cater chiefly to transients.

In contrast to many other industries, the hotel business is made up of comparatively small units but with employment concentrated in a relatively few large establishments. Individual establishments vary greatly in size, but even the largest is hardly comparable in concentration of employment under a single roof to that which may be found in large manufacturing plants. In 1939, there were 28,000 hotels throughout the country. Of these, approximately 2 percent had more than 300 rooms, but they employed about 40 percent of all hotel workers. On the other hand, about 45 percent of all hotels had less than 25 rooms, and they employed only 5 percent of all workers.³

² U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics. Occupational Outlook Series, Bull. 905, p. 1.

³ Ibid., pp. 1-2, Chart No. 1.

Excluding restaurants, hotel employment falls into five general categories: (1) Front office, consisting of desk clerk and other clerical jobs; (2) house service, including bellboys, telephone and elevator operators; (3) housekeeping, chiefly chambermaids, linen-room girls, and housekeepers; (4) maintenance, chiefly engineers, janitors, plumbers, etc.; (5) auxiliary and miscellaneous, including laundry workers, cigar-stand clerks, and the like. Of these departments the largest is housekeeping with about 43 percent of the total employment; next in size is house service with 21 percent, followed by front-office and clerical jobs 18 percent, auxiliary and miscellaneous 10 percent, maintenance 8 percent.⁴

Establishments and Total Employment

A variety of hotels is represented among the 74 establishments covered in this study. They range in size from a second story "walk-up," which employed only 4 persons, and provided nothing but sleeping accommodations, to a large transient hotel with over 400 rooms which employed over 300 persons, and offered not only all the basic services attached to comfortable sleeping accommodations but also auxiliary services which provided added conveniences for the hotel patrons. It should be noted, however, that while the hotels included in the study are representative of hotels in the communities surveyed, they are not necessarily typical of those in metropolitan centers where the large hotel may have a thousand rooms, and where more elaborate service is provided.

Most of the hotels covered in Hartford had less than 200 rooms, while in Atlanta and Indianapolis several had more than 300 rooms. Most of those in Indianapolis and Hartford were commercial, while in Atlanta there were many more residential hotels. With few exceptions, hotels covered by the study provided all of the basic hotel lodging services, including bell, elevator, telephone, maid, and desk service. However, most of them did not provide many extra or auxiliary services.

Employment was concentrated in the larger hotels of 100 units or more, with nearly two-fifths employing four-fifths of the workers. The commercial hotels had for the most part larger staffs than did residential hotels of comparable size.

In the lodging departments of the hotels studied, women constituted slightly more than half of the total personnel, a relationship that existed in the three areas studied. The most important occupations for women in each area were in the housekeeping department which accounted for approximately 70 percent of all women employed. These were chiefly chambermaids, an occupation restricted to women. The only other occupations in which women were found in substantial numbers were those of elevator operator and telephone operator in the house-service departments. The rest were in front office jobs, in various clerical occupations, or in miscellaneous services. Both men and women were employed as elevator operators, an occupation shared by men and women in other industries. There were, however, interesting variations among the three areas studied. In Connecticut areas only a few of the elevator operators were women; in Atlanta, on the other hand, the large majority were

⁴ Based on figures presented in U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics. Occupational Outlook Series, Bull. 905, pp. 1-2. The figures were adjusted to exclude persons employed in hotel restaurants and executive and salaried officers.

women, and in Indiana areas this work was evenly distributed among men and women.

The occupations in which men were employed exclusively were those of bellboy, and certain maintenance jobs. They predominated in the front-office positions, especially that of desk clerk. Although about one-seventh of the men employed were in housekeeping jobs, they were in jobs for which women do not compete.

Extent of Night Employment

An analysis of the employment in the hotels studied indicates that night work for women was not a very significant part of their total employment. While women accounted for more than half of all employment, only a fifth in Indiana and Atlanta and a tenth in Connecticut were employed after 10 p. m. Of those who worked after 10 p. m., only one out of four worked all or most of the night. In sharp contrast, nearly half of the men employed worked after 10 p. m. Of these roughly half stopped work at midnight, and the other half worked all or most of the night. While this distribution varied somewhat for women in the three areas studied, for men the differences were not marked.

Table 1.—Distribution of men and women employed full time in hotels, by ending hour of work

Ending hour of work	Connecticut areas			Indiana areas			Atlanta		
	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women
Number of employees-----	453	213	240	595	278	317	622	287	335
Percent distribution									
10 p.m. or earlier-----	74	55	92	69	57	79	68	53	81
After 10 p. m.-----	26	45	8	31	43	21	32	47	19
10:01 to midnight-----	14	21	7	15	18	12	20	25	15
12:01 to 3 a.m.-----	1	1	(1)	1	1	1	(1)	1	1
After 3 a.m.-----	10	21	1	14	22	7	11	20	4
Irregular-----	1	2	-----	1	2	1	1	1	(1)

¹ Less than 0.5 percent.

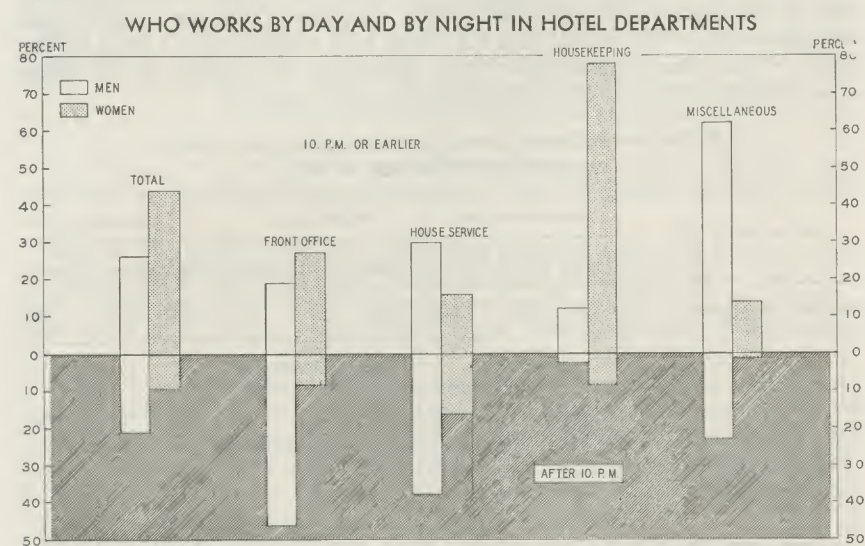
Factors Influencing the Extent of Night Employment

The most important single factor which accounts for the limited extent of night work for women in hotels is the curtailment by 10 p. m. of services in those departments in which women predominate. Since all hotels operate around-the-clock, the casual observer might well imagine, when considering the many conveniences which even the moderate-sized hotel provides, that night work must be extensive for both men and women. The findings indicate, however, a marked tendency to limit night services to those connected with the provision of sleeping accommodations; and within these services, to the ones which obviously are indispensable.

What is considered necessary differs, of course, with the size and general organization of the hotel, and with the type of patronage. All of the large hotels studied maintained the basic lodging services of desk, bell,

elevator and telephone during all or most of the 10 p. m. to 6 a. m. period. One-half of the small hotels provided simply desk service during these hours. Only in the largest hotels were employees on duty for each of these services during the 10 p. m. to 6 a. m. period. In others, night duties were usually consolidated and the desk clerk served also as bellboy, elevator, or telephone operator. The housekeeping department, on the other hand, often had no services operating at night. Such services were available after 10 p. m. only in the larger hotels and in these seldom throughout the night.

While the occupations of elevator operator and telephone operator were relatively unimportant, in comparison with housekeeping, proportionately more of the women in these occupations work at night, and it is chiefly in this department that night work for women is to be found. Women employed after 10 p. m. in the front-office jobs were limited entirely to a few cashiers and clerks.



Conversely, night employment for men was concentrated chiefly in the front-office and house-service occupations. This concentration is explained by the fact that the occupation of desk clerk, which is the most important in the front-office department, is dominated by men. In house service, employment was concentrated in the occupation of bellboy.

It is obvious from the foregoing analysis that night work for women in hotels is limited, and that the "indispensable" night services connected with hotels are those in which men predominate, or which they occupy exclusively. Women are chiefly employed in those which can be sharply curtailed without affecting essential night service. That bell service is provided exclusively by men, and chambermaid service by women is self-explanatory. But in the case of desk clerk, there seems no reason from the standpoint of aptitude why women should not be so employed since women have long since proven their ability in clerical occupations. However, the fact that most desk-clerk jobs in hotels in-

volve night work accounts for the more frequent employment of men. Although no State law prohibits the employment of women at night in hotels, management indicated that men are preferred for desk work at night. One reason indicated was the frequent consolidation of desk work with other jobs which women could not do, e.g., that of bellboy. Others said that the job often involved disagreeable situations in the lobby which women would find more difficult to handle.

The importance of the occupational factor in accounting for the extent of employment of men and women at night in hotels is interesting in relation to the problem of night-work control. In the first place, a prohibition relating to women would affect very few out of the total employed, if the prohibited hours started at any time after 10 p. m. In the second place, the only occupation in which women might be limited with respect to their competitive position with men, would be the occupation of elevator operator.

Size of the hotel is a factor which appears to have some bearing on the extent of night work. Most of the night employment of women, and over half of that of men occurred in hotels with 100 or more rooms. However, the proportions of women employed at night in the large hotels varied considerably among the three areas covered. In the Connecticut areas proportionately fewer of the women worked after 10 p. m., and in half of the large hotels no women were employed after 10 p. m. In Atlanta, on the other hand, all of the large hotels employed some women after 10 p. m., of whom a few worked all or most of the night. In Indiana there was less concentration of night work for women in the larger hotels.

Conditions Accompanying Night Employment

With the 48-hour week and the 8-hour day a common practice in many industries, and with a general trend in the direction of even shorter hours, it may be hard to realize that in some industries longer hours are common. When these longer hours occur on jobs that involve work at some time in the late evening or night, they take on added significance. While more than half of the workers employed after 10 p. m. in the hotels studied were working a 48-hour week, many were working much longer. The hours worked varied rather widely among the three areas covered, and a long workweek was more common for men than for women. Table 2 shows the extent to which men and women on night jobs were working more than 48 hours per week. Very few women were found working as long as 60 hours a week, while some men were working 70 or 80 hours a week in each area.⁵ There was considerable variation in the length of the workweek among the three areas studied. Atlanta hotels had larger proportions of both men and women working a long week. In Indiana areas women were not as frequently employed on night jobs at long hours, and the men were so employed in about the same proportion as in Atlanta. In Connecticut areas, on the other hand, a shorter workweek was somewhat more common for men; virtually no women worked more than 48 hours. This undoubtedly reflects the influence of maximum-hours legislation for women.

Although a large majority of all workers, both men and women, in each area worked six shifts in a week, there was considerable variation

⁵ Data on hours were compiled from establishment records of scheduled hours for the week in which the establishment was covered by the interviewer.

in the shift pattern among the areas. A much higher proportion of men than of women worked seven shifts a week. Most of the women working 7 shifts a week were found in Atlanta, where nearly a fourth of the women employed at night had no day of rest.

The shift pattern for night workers has been a matter of considerable interest, and data were gathered from establishments on this subject.

Table 2.—Number employed full time in hotels after 10 p. m. and the percent who worked more than 48 hours a week, by sex

Sex of employees	Connecticut areas		Indiana areas		Atlanta	
	Total number	Percent who worked more than 48 hours	Total number	Percent who worked more than 48 hours	Total number	Percent who worked more than 48 hours
Number of employees.....	116	25	185	36	198	41
Men.....	97	29	121	44	134	45
Women.....	19	(¹)	64	20	64	33

¹ Base too small to justify computation.

Although hotels reputedly have used the rotating shift to a considerable extent, there was no substantial evidence of this in the hotels studied. The large majority of all workers were on fixed shifts, although proportionately more men than women were so employed.

No over-all information on earnings was gathered, but inquiry was made regarding the practice of tipping and the extent to which night workers benefited by this practice. There was no evidence of any considerable tipping in the occupations important for women, and bellboys were about the only male occupation benefiting from tips. For the most

Table 3.—Distribution of men and women employed full time in hotels after 10 p. m., by number of shifts worked per week

Number of shifts worked per week	Connecticut areas			Indiana areas			Atlanta		
	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women
Number of employees.....	116	97	19	185	121	64	198	134	64
	Percent distribution								
Seven shifts.....	11	11	(¹)	20	26	6	35	40	23
Six shifts.....	87	87	(¹)	75	69	88	61	55	75
Five shifts.....	2	2	-----	5	5	6	3	4	2
Less than 5 shifts.....							1	1	-----

¹ Base too small to justify computation.

part such tipping was more remunerative for those working the day or evening shifts than for those on night shifts.

Since a wage differential for night work is often paid in organized industries to offset the inconvenience of night work, and has been offered by management, from time to time, as an incentive to secure night

workers, an effort was made to discover the extent to which higher rates were paid workers employed after 10 p. m. The results showed that differential payments either to men or women were rare among the hotels studied, and for women they were practically nonexistent.

Working conditions were reported to vary somewhat in pace, volume, and content of work according to shift. In general, work was reported to be less arduous on the third shifts. Work on the evening shift, however, was at least as strenuous as on the day shift, particularly in the larger hotels. In smaller hotels where one person performed the combined duties of several daytime or evening employees, the night shift was considered more arduous.

NIGHT WORK IN RESTAURANTS

Description of the Industry

In 1939, eating places and restaurants serving both liquor and food provided employment for well over a half million persons in the United States of whom about half were women.⁶

Like hotels, restaurants are small-unit enterprises. Over four-fifths of all eating places in the United States employed less than six persons, but these establishments accounted for only two-fifths of total sales in 1939. On the other hand, while 3 percent employed 20 or more persons, they represented more than 25 percent of total sales in eating places.⁷

Eating places are classified by the Bureau of the Census into three groups: (1) Restaurants, cafeterias, and lunchrooms; (2) lunch counters and stands; and (3) soft drink, juice, and ice-cream stands. The first category contained well over one-half of all eating places and accounted for nearly 90 percent of the employment. Lunch counters and stands accounted for only about 10 percent of total employment. The third group (with only 1 percent of total employment) was not included in the present study.

Establishments and Total Employment

A total of 444 eating places was studied between April 1947 and February 1948 in Connecticut, Indiana, and Georgia areas. Four-fifths of all restaurants were in the urban areas of Hartford, Indianapolis, and Atlanta, and the rest were located in the hotels covered by the survey. A wide variety of eating places was represented in the study. All types of service were included, but the largest groups were table-service restaurants and a combination of table and counter service. Counter-service establishments were fewer in number and they were often small, family-operated units providing service to those who cannot afford more elaborate service or who want prompt service. Cafeterias or self-service establishments were few in number, but employed more persons on the average than the counter restaurants.

Working in these restaurants were over 5,000 persons, of whom about one-fifth in the Connecticut and Indiana areas, and one-eighth in Georgia, were administrative personnel, unpaid family members, or musicians.

⁶ U. S. Department of Commerce, Census of Business, 1939, Retail Trade. Monthly employment and sex of employees, p. 6. Excluded are unpaid persons such as proprietors and unpaid family members.

⁷ U. S. Department of Commerce, Census of Business, 1939. Retail Trade, vol. I, part 1, pp. 87-89.

Most of the administrative persons were men who not only managed the business but often performed an assortment of other jobs. The majority of the family workers were women, and these were often found in smaller restaurants. Nearly all the musicians were men. Although this group represented a rather significant part of all employment in the restaurants studied, the following analysis excludes them largely because they were exempt from the night-work prohibition applicable to women in Connecticut in effect at the time of the study and because such persons are not "wage earners" in the generally accepted sense.⁸

Women constituted about two-thirds of all employment in the restaurants outside hotels studied in the Indiana and Georgia areas, and a third in Connecticut. In the hotel restaurants only about one-third of the employees were women, except in the Indiana area, where the proportion of men and women in hotel restaurants was about equal.

Table 4.—Number¹ employed in eating places, by area

Area	Outside hotels		In hotels	
	Total number	Women	Total number	Women
		Percent of total		Percent of total
City:				
Hartford.....	760	32	333	31
Indianapolis.....	1,098	60	354	49
Atlanta.....	1,159	60	265	35
Rural area:				
Connecticut.....	222	42	115	57
Indiana.....	169	72		
Georgia.....	50	76		

¹ Excludes administrative, unpaid family members, and musicians, includes all other regular and part-time employees.

There were also some very marked differences in the ratio of women to men among the cities in contrast to the rural areas. In each of the rural areas, women were employed in greater proportions than in the cities. The smaller proportion of women employed in Hartford is undoubtedly due to the influence of the Connecticut law prohibiting employment of women after 10 p. m. The higher proportion of women found in the rural areas in contrast to the cities may be due to differences in the labor market, about which no data were obtained.

In marked contrast to the typical hotel occupations in some of which women predominate and in others men, in nearly all of the restaurant occupations both men and women were employed in significant numbers. Although this is descriptive of the general situation in restaurants, certain types of eating places employed women in greater proportions than men for both dining room and kitchen work.

More women than men were employed in both kitchen and dining room jobs in eating places outside hotels in Indiana and Georgia areas. In hotel restaurants in Connecticut and Georgia men outnumbered women by a ratio of 2 to 1. In both types of eating places in Connecticut, the

⁸ U. S. Department of Commerce, Census of Business, Retail Trade does not include in total employment, proprietors, or unpaid help. These workers are, however, a part of total "labor force" in restaurants, and constitute significant numbers. Population Census, 1939, Labor Force, vol. III, part 1, pp. 194-195.

Table 5.—Distribution of men and women employed full time in eating places, by ending hour of work

Ending hour of work	Eating places outside of hotels						Hotel eating places					
	Connecticut areas			Indiana areas			Connecticut areas			Indiana areas		
	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women
Number of employees.....	860	566	294	1,182	449	733	421	265	156	352	179	173
Percent distribution												
10 p.m. or earlier.....	69	56	93	63	56	68	68	58	85	73	75	71
After 10 p.m.....	31	44	7	37	44	32	32	42	15	27	25	29
10:01 to 11:59 p.m.....	(1)	(1)	1	21	2	15	(1)	1	1	9	10	8
Midnight.....	4	6	1	3	28	4	4	5	1	14	11	18
12:01 to 1 a.m.....	18	24	6	3	4	3	26	33	14	1	1	1
All or most of the night.....	7	11	(1)	8	9	(1)	1	2	1	2	1	2
Irregular.....				(1)	(1)		1			1		
Early, beginning hours.....	2	3		2	1	3	1				3	

¹ Less than 0.5 percent.

² Relates to workers in rural area, covered after amendment to Connecticut night-work law.

number of men and women employees in the dining room was about equal, but men held most of the kitchen jobs.

Character and Extent of Night Employment

The extent to which women worked at night in restaurants varied somewhat among the areas studied. Employment of women after 10 p. m. was highest in the Indiana area, where about one-third were employed at night. In the Georgia area, while a fourth of the women employed in restaurants outside hotels worked after 10 p. m., the corresponding figure for hotel restaurants was less than one-tenth. The Connecticut area, with 7 percent in eating places outside of hotels and 15 percent in hotel restaurants, provided the least night work for women in the three areas studied.

Most of the "night work" for women as well as for men was confined to the evening shift. In hotel restaurants, the number of both men and women working all or most of the night was negligible. In the restaurants outside of hotels, however, appreciably more in each area were employed on a graveyard shift.

There was little variation among restaurant departments in the proportion of women employed after 10 p. m. Among men, the variation was more noticeable. About half the men employed in dining rooms worked after 10 p. m. in the three areas. This difference indicates that men are more frequently employed as waiters or for other dining-room jobs in the restaurants which stay open at night.

Factors Influencing Night Employment

There were marked differences among the regions in the number of restaurants that stayed open after 10 p. m. In the Connecticut and Indiana areas nearly four-fifths of the restaurants stayed open, while in Georgia about three-fifths were open at night. Hotel restaurants more frequently closed by 10 p. m. than did eating places outside of hotels. What factors account for the extent to which restaurants will operate at night and how specifically is night employment of women affected?

Night work occurs in restaurants because there is a demand for restaurant services which makes it profitable for them to remain open. Some restaurants close before 10 p. m. because there is insufficient business, but many more remain open. What is the nature of the demand for night service, and what factors determine how long restaurants stay open? An attempt was made to discover the character of the demand, in the hope of discovering the extent to which night operation of restaurants is "necessary."

Eating at least one meal outside of the home is a necessity for most of the gainfully employed, and a customary practice of many others, who find it necessary, convenient, or pleasant to "eat out." A large part of the people who eat out are the manual and white-collar workers in shops, factories, stores, and offices who must eat at least one meal a day near their work. In general, these workers patronize the restaurants where service is quick and prices reasonable. Another large group of people want more leisurely dining, often as a form of recreation and entertainment, or often as a conclusion to other entertainment, such as theater, movies, social affairs of one kind or another. These people for the most

part patronize the better-class restaurants, tea rooms, and night clubs. Much of this kind of eating may be expected to occur at the dinner hour and in the evening or night hours. Others who patronize eating places include travelers and transients of various kinds, and an assortment of people such as "roomers," apartment dwellers, working couples, and many others who like or need to "eat out," usually in neighborhood restaurants.

It is impossible to segregate these many different types of clientele into mutually exclusive categories, because pleasure seekers are also workers, and neighborhood diners may be workers or pleasure seekers; but within these general types of demand an effort was made to discover what relationship the predominant type of clientele had to the hours at which eating places did most of their business. It was the hope that such an analysis would give some basis for determining whether the restau-

Table 6.—Distribution of eating places serving and not serving alcoholic beverages in three cities, by closing hour

Closing hour	Hartford			Indianapolis			Atlanta		
	Total establishments	Number of establishments		Total establishments	Number of establishments		Total establishments	Number of establishments	
		Serving alcoholic beverages	Not serving alcoholic beverages		Serving alcoholic beverages	Not serving alcoholic beverages		Serving beer and wine	Not serving beer and wine
Number of eating places-----	121	68	53	144	78	66	88	49	39
Percent distribution									
10 p.m. or earlier--	27	9	51	23	9	39	40	31	51
10:01 to 11:59 p.m.	3		5	7	6	8	14	20	8
Midnight-----	5	3	8	49	81	12	18	29	5
12:01 to 1 a.m.	50	84	8	4		9	5	8	
1:01 to 3 a.m.	3	3	4				5	6	3
Open all or most of the night	6	1	11	11	4	18	13	4	25
Open before 6 a.m.	6		13	6		14	5	2	8

rants which were open at night were catering entirely to pleasure seekers, to travelers, or to workers. These data were gathered from information provided by employers who described the "bulk of their patronage" and who gave the "peak hour" for their sales. The busiest period for eating places varied greatly with the clientele, but of all the restaurants studied that were open after 10 p. m., nearly 25 percent had their busiest period after dinner, and close to 40 percent gave lunch as the peak hour. However, about half of those catering to pleasure seekers had their busiest period after dinner, and these, together with neighborhood restaurants, constituted most of the group who gave "after dinner" as the busiest period. Only one-tenth of the restaurants catering to manual workers were busiest after dinner. These few restaurants were for the most part serving night workers employed in nearby plants, taxi drivers, and other night workers.

The demand for liquor as well as food appears, from the study of

restaurants in Hartford and Indianapolis, to be an important factor in influencing the extent to which restaurants remain open, as well as the hours at which they close. In both cities well over half of the restaurants studied served liquor as well as food, and in both cities those restaurants not serving liquor showed a marked tendency to close by 10 p. m. On the other hand only one-tenth of the liquor serving establishments closed early. The sale of liquor, which is permitted up to midnight and 1 a. m. in Indianapolis and Hartford respectively, thus is an important factor in accounting for the restaurants open after 10 p. m. in these cities, and table 6 shows a striking relationship between the hours at which restaurants close and the hours limiting liquor sales. How many of these restaurants would remain open after these hours if liquor sales were permitted after midnight or 1 a. m. is problematical, but it can be concluded that liquor ordinances act as an important controlling influence on the closing hour for a substantial proportion of all establishments remaining open after 10 p. m.

That liquor is not the only factor accounting for night operation in restaurants is indicated by the situation in Atlanta. In this city, no liquor except beer and wine may be sold at any time in a public eating place, and the sale of beer and wine is prohibited between midnight and 6 a. m. In Atlanta there was not a marked concentration of the restaurants serving liquor closing at midnight, since proportionately more closed before 10 p. m., and also more remained open after the hours limiting liquor sales than in the other cities. The latter may be due in part to the fact that proportionately more of the restaurants in this city covered in the survey were smaller, counter, or counter- and service-type restaurants, which were the kind most frequently found operating all night in other areas, and the more important part of their business was probably in the sale of food.

While the sale of liquor may be considered an important influence in determining how many restaurants stay open and when they close, certain types of service provided also have some relationship to the closing hour. While nearly all the restaurants closing at midnight or 1 a. m. were table service or a combination table and counter service, 90 percent of those remaining open all night were table and counter, or counter-service establishments. These were chiefly places catering to a different type of clientele (most of them did not serve liquor) and their costs of operation were sufficiently limited to make it profitable to remain open all night. Indeed, some managers of these establishments said that it was cheaper to remain open all night, even with a limited demand for services in the early morning hours, than to close up for a few hours and run the risk of having workers come late, and some used the slack hours of the early morning to make preparations for the next day.

Conditions Accompanying Night Employment

As in the case of hotel workers, many restaurant workers on jobs involving night work were employed long hours. As table 7 indicates, there were marked differences among the areas in the extent to which employment extended beyond a 48-hour week, but in each area a substantial proportion of all night workers were working these long hours. Nearly a fifth of the men had scheduled hours of 60 or more per week, and

while fewer women worked these very long hours, a considerable number were working between 48 and 60 hours a week.

Table 7.—Distribution¹ of men and women employed full time after 10 p. m. in eating places in each area, by weekly hours of work

Weekly hours of work	Connecticut areas			Indiana areas			Georgia areas		
	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women
Number of employees-----	405	360	45	529	241	288	386	201	185
	Percent distribution								
Less than 48-----	20	18	40	24	23	25	26	17	36
48-----	19	19	18	38	37	39	21	15	27
Over 48, less than 54-----	19	18	29	11	8	13	6	5	7
54-----	21	22	11	9	9	10	7	6	8
Over 54, less than 60-----	5	5	2	8	7	8	13	15	10
60 and over-----	16	18		10	16	5	17	22	11
Irregular-----							10	20	1

¹ Excludes administrative, unpaid family members and musicians.

While the six-shift week was more common practice in restaurants than in hotels, roughly a sixth of the workers were employed seven shifts a week. Relatively few men and women worked 5 days. There were no striking variations among the areas except in Connecticut where the 6-shift week was almost universal.

The vast majority of the workers in the restaurants in each area was employed on a fixed shift. This contrasts with hotels, in which a smaller proportion worked a fixed shift, although this predominated.

For the most part, waiters and waitresses were busier at the dinner hour and in the evening, while the cooks and dishwashers tended to be busier during the daytime. Establishments operating 24 hours were frequently less busy on the third shift, and the workers employed between 1 a. m. and 6 a. m. more often performed a combination of duties than did those on other shifts. Some employers reported that they had made efforts to equalize the volume and pace of work on various shifts.

While waiters and waitresses apparently benefited from tips, the extent of tipping and the amounts received varied greatly. In general, tipping was more common in the establishments serving liquor, and there was some indication that tips were better in the late evening. However, in other establishments the dinner-hour tips were reported to be at least as high.

A wage differential for night work was reported by only a few restaurants. In these few, either the rate of pay was higher or 8 hours pay was received for 7 hours work.

Follow-Up Survey: Hartford Restaurants, 1948

In May of 1948, nearly a year after Connecticut removed its night-work prohibition for adult women, Women's Bureau agents again visited the same establishments covered in the 1947 study which at that time

were subject to the provisions of the night-work law.⁹ Eight leased hotel restaurants and 98¹⁰ restaurants outside hotels were revisited. Of these, 87 were operating under the same management, 13 had changed hands, and 6 had gone out of business.

Business had slumped since 1947, according to employers' statements and as a result employment in the 100 firms in business both years had decreased 9 percent during the year. Even though the same proportionate decrease in workers had taken place in restaurants open after 10 p. m. as in those that closed before this hour, the reduction in force in restaurants that remained open after 10 p. m. had affected only the day workers. Women were affected relatively more than men. The number of workers on shifts ending after 10 p. m. had increased slightly during the year.

After the amendment of the night-work law, the employment of women in these restaurants increased somewhat. Of the 100 restaurants revisited in 1948, 69 were open for business for some period between 10 p. m. and 6 a. m., and 31 closed before 10 p. m. Except for one additional restaurant, the same firms were open after 10 p. m. in 1948 as in 1947. At the time of the revisits, 37 or well over half of the 69 restaurants open at night were employing women on shifts ending after 10 p. m.

In spite of the substantial decrease of women workers on the day shift in restaurants open at night, the hiring of women for the night shift resulted in a 3-percent increase in the total employment of women in the 100 restaurants. The general decrease of men in both types of restaurants and on both shifts reduced their employment in 1948, 12 percent below the 1947 level, but the proportion working on the night shift remained about the same for the 2 years, 48 and 46 percent.

In 1947, when women comprised 27 percent of all workers, only 2 percent were working at night (in own-family businesses), but by 1948, when they formed 30 percent of all workers, 27 percent of all women workers were on the night force. Women accounted for only 1 percent of the total night force in 1947 as compared to 20 percent in 1948. All but one of the women night workers were employed on shifts ending at 1 a. m.

Women workers evidently had replaced men to a considerable extent on night shifts. In over half of the restaurants where women had been added to the night shift, the number of men on this shift had decreased; in a fourth of the firms, both men and women had been added to the night shift; and in the remaining firms where women were employed at night the number of men on this shift had not changed.

A large majority (two-thirds) of employers who stated, when interviewed in 1947, that they would employ women after 10 p. m. if legally permitted to do so, were employing women these hours in 1948. Also, over one-third of employers who, in 1947, expressed no interest in employing women on night jobs, nevertheless had women on their night shifts in 1948.

Many of the employers who had added women to their night shifts commented that women employees were "more dependable," "more

⁹ Leased hotel restaurants and restaurants located outside of hotels were covered by the law, hotel lodging departments and restaurants operated by hotels were exempt.

¹⁰ One small restaurant was not revisited.

reliable," "more courteous," "more efficient," and generally more satisfactory than men. On the other hand, the reasons most commonly given for not employing women at night were: "No additional help needed, business poor," "management policy not to hire women at night," "unsuitable neighborhood for women night workers." Only 7 of the 60 employers interviewed on this subject preferred men on all-night jobs.

The night-work law as amended required the Commissioner of Labor "to prescribe adequate transportation facilities in the employment of females between the hours of 1 a. m. and 6 a. m.," so information was obtained on the transportation facilities available to the women night workers. It was found that management provided transportation, the restaurants were near adequate public transportation, the restaurant workers lived near their place of work and walked home, or the worker was called for and driven home by a member of the family.

THE ATTITUDES AND PROBLEMS OF NIGHT WORKERS

Introduction

Workers' attitudes toward employment at night were studied by interviewing a selected group of men and women night workers in their homes. Questions were asked about living arrangements, financial responsibility, length of experience on night work; whether night work created problems not present in day work; whether night work was preferred to day work and why; and preference on shift patterns.¹¹

Attitudes expressed by workers toward night work should be given serious consideration, since workers are in the best position to evaluate preferences in terms of personal experience, and the effect of night work on their lives. In terms of recommendations looking toward a public policy, however, there needs to be a more thoroughgoing examination of problems arising out of night work, and the consideration of evidence based on a variety of data from many sources not available to workers, or not within their individual perspective. For example, workers' preferences must be interpreted in terms of the extent to which alternative forms of employment are open to them. The married woman with young children, who must work to supplement her husband's wage, or who must take his place as the breadwinner if he is unemployed, may prefer night work to what she considers the neglect of her home and children, which a day job might involve. The older woman with limited skills, and who is generally less employable, may prefer her night job because on the whole it is more desirable than the kind of a job she could find by day. The length of experience on night work may have a determining influence upon workers' attitudes.¹²

Workers may accept night work simply because they have become accustomed to it and to the readjustments in their personal or family living it entails. Recognizing that the workers' expressed attitudes may not be wholly reliable, they are nevertheless an important basis for evaluating the problems accompanying night work. The reasons for pre-

¹¹ Since men were interviewed chiefly for comparative purposes, the following detailed discussion relates chiefly to women, and a comparative statement appears at the conclusion of the chapter.

¹² *Report of Committee on Double-Day Shift Working*. Presented by the Ministry of Labour and National Service to Parliament by Command of His Majesty, June 1947. London, His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1947.

ferring a given shift may throw some light upon the more basic employment needs of women.¹³

The problems for the individual worker must be distinguished from the effects of night employment of women upon social welfare. Night employment may have a disturbing influence upon family or personal life; it may be inconvenient; it may be necessary if the alternative is a less desirable job; but the long or short run social implications will depend upon a number of factors not within the scope of the present inquiry.

General Characteristics of Workers Interviewed

Altogether 270 persons who worked part or all of the period between 10 p. m. and 6 a. m. were interviewed. Of these, 148 were women and 122 were men. About three-fourths of the women and two-thirds of the men were in the restaurant occupations and the rest were in hotel occupations in which either sex was customarily employed.

Nearly all women in hotel occupations, chiefly chambermaids, elevator and telephone operators, and a few clerical workers were 35 years or older; almost half were 45 or over. In the restaurant occupations, those interviewed were, as a group, younger. Less than half were over 35 and many of these were waitresses. Only a fifth of the women were single, two-fifths were married, the rest were widowed, separated, or divorced. Nearly three-fourths of the women interviewed were living with a family group. A substantial proportion of these night workers were contributing to or were the sole support of the family. Of the remaining women who lived outside a family group, a few were helping to support dependents who lived elsewhere, but they were largely women who had only themselves to support. For the most part, the women had had considerable experience in the same industry in which they were working when interviewed, and much of this experience was in night work. Only a fifth had worked for less than a year. Of those working more than a year, half of them had worked for 5 years or more and many for as long as 10 years. Most of the women had only limited experience in other industries or occupations.

The men did not differ materially in age and in living arrangements. For the most part they also were a somewhat older group. In the hotel occupations, chiefly bellboys and desk clerks, considerably more than half were 35 years or older, and those in the restaurant occupations were somewhat younger, slightly more than half were less than 35 years of age. On the other hand, the marital status of men varied somewhat from that of women, in that a third were single, one-half were married, and the others were widowed, separated, or divorced. Many of the men had had more extensive work experience than the women both in the same industry and on night work.

Why Women Worked at Night and Their Attitudes Toward Night Work

The women interviewed were asked why they took the jobs they were on, whether they wanted to remain on the same shift or would prefer a different one, and their reasons. The answers to these questions varied

¹³ Evidence presented on worker preferences should be considered indicative rather than conclusive. The total from whom data were obtained was relatively small and excluded those who worked regularly by day. Furthermore, the degree of the worker's confidence in the interviewer is a factor to be considered in evaluating workers' statements.

widely, and it is impossible to group them into very definite categories. A preponderance of the women found night work acceptable, but there seemed to be various reasons why women took the jobs they were on, many of which fell neither in the category of positively liking or disliking night work. Others found themselves on night work because it was the only job available, or because night work seemed to be a necessary part of the occupation in which they were qualified by experience. Some, however, had made a deliberate choice of night work, either because they "liked" a night shift, or because it was the most convenient time, or the only time they could work. Since "liking" or "disliking" are relative terms, an effort was made therefore to group the attitudes of workers into a graduating scale: those who like night work in the sense that given a free choice they would take a night shift; those who needed to work at night because it was difficult or inconvenient to work at some other time; those who accepted night work in the absence of alternative jobs; and those who disliked night work and wanted to change.

Those Who Liked Night Work

Some women liked night work because they found it more suitable to their personal needs and desires. These were workers who for the most part had no domestic responsibilities or very limited ones. Some, usually on evening shifts, preferred night work because they "could sleep late in the morning." Others in this group preferred night work because for various reasons they were deprived of opportunities to participate in social activities common to evening hours and therefore were substituting activity which would satisfy in part a need for social life. Some preferred having the day free for an assortment of daytime pursuits which were more important to them than evening activities. The following cases are illustrative:

Case 1.—A young married woman with no children worked 6 days a week from 4 p. m. to midnight. She liked these hours because her husband traveled a great deal and she liked having something to occupy her evenings which would otherwise be lonely.

Case 2.—A counter girl, 32 years old, married, with 2 daughters, 8 and 12 years of age, had been employed in a grill in Atlanta for over 3 years on an evening shift from 3 p. m. to 11 p. m., 6 days a week. She liked her shift because she enjoyed sleeping late in the morning. Her husband was employed on a day shift and could care for the children in the evening.

Case 3.—A 46-year-old hostess in a cocktail lounge of a hotel had been employed for 1 year on a split shift ending at 1 a. m. and allowing 3 hours of free time in the afternoon. She was divorced and lived alone in a small apartment and said she preferred the late evening shift because her evening hours were lonely. She also liked a split shift because it gave her time for shopping.

Case 4.—A cashier, 38 years old, in a hotel restaurant, who had worked from midnight until 9 a. m. for the past 4 years, said she had requested this shift because she liked it. She slept better by day since she was accustomed to it. The woman was divorced and had no dependents.

Those Who Needed to Work at Night

There were some who felt a need to work at night because they were unable to work during the day, or because financial stringency made them seek higher earnings accompanying jobs in which tips were better at night. Most of these worked at night in the absence of acceptable alternatives. They were women with heavy family or financial responsibilities: some had young children or other dependents and some were the sole support of a family. A few waitresses, who said tips were much higher on a late shift, felt that this outweighed other considerations.

Case 5.—A married woman with two young children (ages 5 and 2), worked on a 5 p. m. to midnight shift 6 days a week because this shift was "best suited to the care of the children." This worker said she and her husband would like to spend their evenings together but that she had to work because her husband's salary was not enough to meet expenses, particularly since living costs had increased. Her husband cared for the children while she worked, and she said she could not possibly pay for regular day care for her children.

Case 6.—A 44-year-old hotel telephone operator in Atlanta, married, with two grown children, had worked from 11 p. m. to 7 a. m., 6 nights a week for more than 3 years. She said she worked these hours partly because there were not enough beds for all the family to sleep at night, and that on the whole such an arrangement worked out all right because the family could have breakfast, dinner, and evening together.

Case 7.—A 35-year-old waitress in a Connecticut restaurant worked from 3:30 p. m. until midnight. This woman was the sole support of a family of four. Her husband had been ill for months and was unemployed. He was able, however, to care for the children in her absence, and she said this was the shift she found most convenient under the circumstances. When the worker first took the job several years earlier, her husband worked days and she said she had to get evening work so the children would be cared for when she was at work.

Case 8.—A 35-year-old waitress in a Connecticut restaurant who was divorced and supported herself said that she preferred the 5 p. m. to 1 a. m. shift because higher tips increased her earnings. She had had experience on other shifts, and was convinced the straight evening shift was the most remunerative. This worker was doing waitress work because she could make more money than on any other kind of available work she was equipped to do.

Those Who Accepted Night Work

Some women accepted night work because there was no other job available or because night work was common to the occupation. Telephone operators and other hotel employees mentioned this as an important factor. Others said it was the only job they could find at the time they were looking for work and, having become accustomed to night work, they found it not undesirable. A few women were willing to work at night because the pace was less strenuous and the surroundings generally more agreeable in contrast to day jobs in the same occupation.

Case 9.—An older woman, divorced and living alone, was working 6 nights a week from 11 p. m. to 7 a. m. as a baker in a small lunchroom.

She had been with the same employer for 6 years and most of the time on the night shift. She said she didn't sleep too well during the day, because of the noise, but she took great pride in her baking and knew she had to take a night job to continue in this work. Her remark was, "All bakers work this shift." She felt that if she didn't do this kind of work she would be forced to accept unskilled work.

Case 10.—A 56-year-old hotel cashier had worked for 20 years for her present employer, and for the past 10 years had been on a shift rotating within the week, three late-evening and three daytime shifts. This woman liked her work and accepted the shift arrangement as a necessary part of the job. She had always had some difficulty adjusting to the sleeping schedule, but had worked out her social life very satisfactorily.

There were cases of women with limited employment opportunities who by virtue of age and lack of skills accepted night work because it was easier than the work they might have to do by day.

Case 11.—A chambermaid in an Indiana hotel, who was 70 years old, worked from 11 p. m. to 7 a. m. She had been working in this occupation for 11 years, 7 of these on a night shift. She said the work was much less strenuous at night, and since she was an old woman she would be afraid to change to a day shift. She was widowed and lived with a married daughter to whom she paid board and room. Her only other work experience was in private domestic service in which she had worked for 30 years prior to taking a job as a chambermaid.

Case 12.—A dishwasher in a lunchroom in Indiana worked 7 nights a week from 11 p. m. until 7 a. m. She was divorced and lived alone. After a number of years of experience in domestic service, which she found too strenuous, she had taken this job 4 years ago. She liked the quiet and easy pace of the work during these hours and had no special complaints.

Those Who Disliked Night Work

About a fourth of the women workers employed sometime between 10 p. m. and 6 a. m. indicated a definite preference for day work, but most of them were women who could find no other job; some had been assigned to an evening or night shift by the manager and they had no choice but to accept or lose the job. Others were earning more from tips on a late shift and couldn't afford to change; a few liked the job, but would very much prefer doing it by day.¹⁴

Case 13.—A woman 29 years of age, whose only previous experience was a 4-month job in a laundry, had taken her present job of dishwasher in an Indianapolis restaurant because she needed to work and it was the only job she could find. She had five children, and although her husband was employed, his earnings were not enough to provide necessities. The problem of her children's care was complicated, since her husband was likewise employed in the evening. Her brother provided child care while she and her husband were working. Since taking this job 2 months earlier, she had had difficulty getting enough sleep because she had to get up

¹⁴ These women were on night work for reasons similar to those given by women who accept night work but their response to night work is different.

early to get the children to school. Once she was molested while returning from work, and since then she had been afraid to be on the streets after dark.

Case 14.—A widow, 50 years old, with years of experience as a telephone operator, working on a split shift, with part of the work ending at 11 p. m., said she disliked any evening work, but could find no other work in this occupation. She not only supported herself, but was contributing to the support of her grandchildren.

Case 15.—A 53-year-old chambermaid in a Connecticut hotel worked 6 days a week on a 4 p. m. to 11 p. m. shift. She supported herself and contributed to the support of two children. She had worked on the same shift and for her present employer more than 4 years, and had been unable to find day work. This worker's only other experience in recent years had been in domestic service, which she did not like. She disliked her present job because she had no time to spend with her teen-age children. She found it tiring because of the late hours.

Problems of Night Work Revealed by Women Workers

An appraisal of the problems which workers believed arose out of a night job is at least as complicated as that of evaluating their attitudes. If it has been difficult for those studying the effects of night work to segregate problems which are due to night work itself from more general problems of employment, it is perhaps more so for the worker himself. Nor can it be assumed that no problems exist, even though workers may fail to report them. Workers may be hesitant about discussing them and many would find it difficult to identify and evaluate the problem where there is one. With these limitations in mind, it is significant that about half of the women reported problems, and some reported more than one.

Women mentioned most frequently the difficulty of getting enough sleep, irregularity of meals, the fear or inconvenience of late return to their homes, and the interference with social activities. The problems relating to eating and sleeping appeared to be important not only for those on a "graveyard" shift, but were often mentioned by those on an evening shift. Many women with domestic responsibilities had to arise early to take on household duties, and while they had a part of the night in which to sleep, it was shortened on the one end by the job and on the other by family chores. In Indianapolis and Atlanta some women found it difficult to get home if the job ended around midnight, because public transportation facilities were inadequate, but more frequently they expressed fear of being alone on the streets at night. A number of them said they ran home after they left the street car. Many had made special arrangements to get home in order to avoid these problems. "My husband calls for me," the "boss takes me home," "I take a taxi," were some of the special arrangements.

Interference with social activities was mentioned almost entirely by those on evening shifts. They found it difficult to do the things they liked to do with other people, either with their families or their friends. Such difficulties were most commonly mentioned by younger, unattached women.

Difficulties created in family living were mentioned frequently by married women who found it difficult to work by night, but this problem did

not appear as an important issue with most married women, perhaps reflecting the likelihood that the advantage of night work over day work outweighed other considerations.

Attitudes and Problems of Men Interviewed

In rather sharp contrast to the women interviewed, the findings showed that over two-fifths of the men would rather have had day work and were on the night shift chiefly because they could find no other work. They didn't like the personal disorganization and inconvenience which was attached to the night job, and they complained of loss of sleep, failure to have time for recreation and social life.

Most of the married men who disliked night work placed emphasis upon the interference with normal family life. This is an interesting contrast to the married women, most of whom stressed only their need to work at night in order to assure care of their homes and children during the day.

Of those who preferred night work, nearly all liked it for strictly personal reasons or convenience. Since the problem of "dual responsibility" was not an ingredient in men's attitudes toward night work, their attitudes for the most were therefore governed by their personal needs and desires. The limitations placed upon their choice of a day job versus a night job appeared to arise out of their specific employment qualifications or personal preferences rather than their family responsibilities.

Attitudes About Shift Patterns

Since much of the recent interest in night work has been directed toward a study of the particular shift patterns most acceptable to the worker, and that least likely to disorganize his physical and social life, an effort was made to discover prevailing attitudes among the workers. Although rotating and split shifts have been reported as common in the past in hotels and restaurants, the present study indicated that the fixed and continuous shifts were more common, particularly in restaurants. Among the workers interviewed, only a fourth had had any experience on rotating or split shifts, and even fewer were on such shifts when interviewed. Those few who had had experience or were working on rotating or split shifts reported that in their opinion the disadvantages of such shifts far outweighed the advantages.

The main disadvantage to rotating shifts was the fact that workers had to keep readjusting to different eating and sleeping schedules and some found this difficult. Others had trouble planning their personal lives when they worked on alternating shifts. However, some workers liked the rotating shift because it gave them an opportunity to engage in both day and night activities, and a few said a rotating shift enabled all workers to get a share of the higher tips on a particular shift.

Workers agreed that the greatest disadvantage to the split shift was that it took up the best part of both day and night and that time between shifts could not be used to advantage. Others said too much time was wasted in transportation to and from work. Among the few who thought the split shift had some advantages, the chief reason was that the time between shifts afforded opportunity for daytime activities.

CONCLUSION

Basic to a consideration of appropriate public policy with respect to night work is the need for a definition which encompasses employment on a second or late evening shift, as well as employment on a night or "graveyard shift." Historically, night work has been variously defined and the definitions have reflected the economic and social environment in which night work occurred.

With the growing practice of the shorter workday and the possibility therefore of three shifts, the second, or late evening shift, has become a matter for specific consideration. Economic factors, and perhaps changing social views about night activities, have lent encouragement to consideration of the second shift as another day shift. But from the standpoint of workers' interests and general welfare, a more critical appraisal of the evening shift is desirable. The interviews with workers in hotels and restaurants, most of whom were on evening shifts, support other evidence that to the extent to which there are difficulties in social and personal adjustments for workers, those arising out of the second shift do not differ materially from those arising from work on the third shift. The consideration of a possible need for night-work legislation covering restaurants in particular must include a serious consideration of the period in which most of the employment after the normal workday occurs, and decisions have to be made regarding the period which may need control as well as the kind of control which should be exerted.

That night work created problems for some workers in the present study was indicated by the workers who were interviewed. The problems they reported were, in their general character, similar to those which have been a matter of concern in connection with night work since the practice of night work first began. The difficulties in getting sleep, the restriction of opportunities to enjoy social activities, the disorganizing effects upon domestic routines and upon family living, and the fear of returning home late at night were all described, although there is no evidence from which one can conclude that workers generally were so affected. Indeed, some workers indicated some satisfaction with night employment, and appropriate decisions about the need for control must take into account the fact that for many persons social problems may be less crucial than in earlier days. The worker on a graveyard shift must sleep by day, but there may be time for other activities before return to work. The extent to which night work is a disorganizing influence is a matter of a multitude of factors, involving personal and family adjustments and preferences. The attitudes of workers are now being given more careful study and may, if properly weighed, provide some basis for determining the extent to which workers can and do make an adjustment to night work with its attendant problems.

The characteristics of workers employed at night in hotels and restaurants indicate that, in many ways, such workers have long been the object of concern among those interested in improving working conditions. Both men and women displayed some of the characteristics of workers often found in the less skilled occupations of the service industries, in

which age, the inability to keep pace with machine production, or specific work experience do not always constitute obstacles to employment. The presence in night jobs of married women with domestic responsibilities involving the care of children, who are working at night because they cannot satisfy their needs for income by daytime employment, is a recurring and familiar aspect of night work. The evidence of substandard conditions involving a workweek longer than the week common in many industries reminds one that there are still groups of workers who may need the benefits of legislative or other controls. One is also reminded that the problems of employment of women at night are difficult to differentiate from their general problems of employment—particularly those arising from their dual role as wage earner and homemaker. The solution of their problems may lie less in the control of night work and more in the direction of a general improvement of working conditions, and in the development of various services in the community which would give women greater freedom to choose the time at which they work.

The factors which already play an important role, either in prescribing definite limits to the employment of women at night, or in accounting for possible extension of such employment, need consideration in determining the desirability of establishing public control. The extent to which women are employed in hotels and in restaurants after 10 p. m. is influenced by very different factors. The employment of women in hotels after 10 p. m. is very limited in relation to their total employment in the industry. This is explained by the fact that night operation of hotels is not dependent upon the duties which women perform. That there will be important shifts in the proportions of men and women in these occupations is doubtful since women have, by long tradition, tended to preempt the characteristic housekeeping occupations, and men, by virtue of equally well-established tradition, will continue to occupy others. Thus night employment of women is very much limited by factors not likely to change.

In restaurants, the preponderance of work done after 10 p. m. is very much more directly related to factors of demand, and hence less predictable. The restaurant industry is thus illustrative of a type of industry about which there has often been concern in connection with night work, since there is always a possible extension of night work if profits warrant night operation. The problem of its necessity has to be measured in terms of the interests of business, the needs or desires of those who provide the demand for night service, and the welfare of the workers involved.

A study such as this one, which was limited in coverage and which did not attempt to encompass all of the important considerations implied in a comprehensive study of night work, cannot provide definite answers to the many questions requiring answers before a sound public policy can be established regarding the need for night-work legislation applicable to women. The social as well as economic implications involve a series of intangibles which do not lend themselves readily to statistical analysis. However, when reviewed in the background of the long history of concern about night work, this study of hotels and restaurants indicates that some of the bases of that concern are still present. It also suggests the kind of approach needed before adequate standards for determining the need for legislation can be established.

Appendix A

METHODS OF THE STUDY

Areas

Data for the study were gathered between April 1947 and February 1948. A city in Georgia was selected because Georgia had no night-work law or other protective laws relating to women's employment; in Indiana, because it had had some experience with night-work legislation, though not applicable to hotels or restaurants; and in Connecticut because it had at the time a law prohibiting the employment of women in restaurants between 10 p. m. and 6 a. m. In selecting these areas, an effort was also made to recognize possible regional differences and variations in social customs which might have a bearing upon night work. In each State one large city and selected smaller communities were surveyed.

Method of Collecting Data

The data were collected by field representatives of the Women's Bureau directly from establishment records, by interviews with officials of the establishments and with workers in the hotels and restaurants included in the study.

Samples of establishments were drawn from listings of hotels and restaurants obtained from public and private sources, and selected in such a way as to give proportionate representation to factors of size and type. The hotel sample was drawn from all commercial hotels in the areas selected, and from residential hotels providing hotel service to more than half their units.

The night workers personally interviewed were chosen from those occupations in hotels and restaurants in which men and women were customarily employed, and were drawn chiefly from those working in the establishments located in the large cities. All the workers interviewed were employed for part or all of the 10 p. m. to 6 a. m. period. In Indianapolis and Atlanta, a representative sample of approximately one-fifth of all such "night workers" was interviewed, and in Hartford about one-fourth of the men and women employed at night in hotels were interviewed. Restaurant workers in Connecticut were not interviewed because employment of women was prohibited in such establishments between 10 p. m. and 6 a. m.

Definitions

Hotels.—The Census definition of hotels was generally followed: Establishments designating themselves as hotels and providing hotel accommodations as their major business activity. Boarding houses, tourist houses or camps, YWCA's, YMCA's, club dormitories and similar types of operation were excluded as well as establishments operated exclusively by family members, or by a staff of less than four persons, except in the small towns of Connecticut where this limitation was not followed.

Restaurants.—The Census definition of eating places was used: Establishments in which the principal business is the preparation and sale of food for consumption on the premises. The term "eating place" covers restaurants and lunchrooms, lunch counters and refreshment stands, and

cafeterias. Eating places located in industrial plants, stores, private clubs, and other similar establishments; taverns and other places selling liquor only; and businesses operated entirely by family members were all excluded. With these exclusions, the term "restaurants" as used in this study refers to eating places of all kinds.

Night work as used in this study is work which occurred any time in the period after 10 p. m. and before 6 a. m. While this is a somewhat arbitrary definition, it was believed necessary, for purposes of analysis, to specify some period of time during which work should be considered "night work." The fact that these were the hours during which women were prohibited from employment in restaurants in Connecticut made it a reasonable delimitation.

NIGHT WORK FOR WOMEN

Number of hotels and eating places covered and their employment and number of workers interviewed, by area

Area	All establishments				Hotels										Eating places outside of hotels				Workers interviewed	
	Number of establishments	Employment			Number of establishments	Employment in—				Eating places				Number of establishments						
		Total	Women	Percent of total		Total	Women	Total	Women	Percent of total	Total	Women	Percent of total		Total	Women				
All areas-----	455	7,298	3,446	47	74	1,842	946	51	1,174	457	39	34	4,282	2,043	48	122	148			
Connecticut-----	172	2,360	843	36	29	526	262	50	509	175	34	143	1,325	406	31	27	31			
Hartford-----	119	1,848	620	34	20	472	233	49	391	109	28	99	985	278	28	21	25			
Other Connecticut-----	53	512	223	44	9	54	29	54	118	66	56	44	340	128	38	6	6			
Indiana-----	170	2,608	1,385	53	24	655	338	52	383	185	48	146	1,570	862	55	44	59			
Indianapolis-----	146	2,388	1,246	52	22	640	333	52	383	185	48	124	1,365	728	53	40	49			
Other Indiana-----	24	220	139	63	2	15	5	(1)	-----	-----	-----	22	205	134	65	4	10			
Georgia-----	113	2,330	1,218	52	21	661	346	52	282	97	34	92	1,387	775	56	51	58			
Atlanta-----	98	2,251	1,169	52	21	661	346	52	282	97	34	77	1,308	726	56	48	49			
Other Georgia-----	15	79	49	62	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	15	79	49	62	3	9			

¹ Base too small to justify computation.

Appendix B

SUMMARIES OF INTERNATIONAL REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN DURING THE NIGHT

Berne Convention respecting the Prohibition of Night Work for Women in Industrial Employment, 1906.

Scope: W employed in industrial undertakings employing more than 10 workers. (Explicitly excluded: W working in industrial undertakings in which only members of the same family are employed.)

Interval of prohibited employment: 10 p. m. to 5 a. m.

Uninterrupted rest period: 11 h.

International Labour Convention (No. 4), Night Work (Women), 1919.

Scope: W employed in industrial undertakings and their dependencies, public and private:

(a) Mines, quarries, and other works for the extraction of minerals from the earth;

(b) Industries in which articles are manufactured, altered, cleaned, repaired, ornamented, finished, adapted for sale, broken up or demolished, or in which materials are transformed; including shipbuilding, and the generation, transformation, and transmission of electricity or motive power of any kind;

(c) Construction, reconstruction, maintenance, repair, alteration, or demolition of any building, railway, tramway, harbour, dock, pier, canal, inland waterway, road, tunnel, bridge, viaduct, sewer, drain, well, telegraphic or telephonic installation, electrical undertaking, gas work, water work, or other work of construction, as well as the preparation for or laying the foundations of any such work or structure.

(Each country to define its own line separating industry from commerce and agriculture.)

(Categories explicitly excluded: As in Berne Convention, see above.)

Interval of prohibited employment: 10 p. m. to 5 a. m.

Uninterrupted rest period: 11 h.

International Labour Convention (No. 41), Night Work (Women) (Revised), 1934.

Scope: as in Convention No. 4, see above. (W holding responsible positions of management who are not ordinarily engaged in manual work are also excluded.)

Interval of prohibited employment: 10 p. m. to 5 a. m.

Uninterrupted rest period: 11 h.

Convention (No. 89) Concerning Night Work of Women Employed in Industry (revised 1948).

PART I.—GENERAL PROVISIONS

Article 1

1. For the purpose of this Convention, the term "industrial undertaking" includes particularly—

(a) mines, quarries, and other works for the extraction of minerals from the earth;

(b) undertakings in which articles are manufactured, altered, cleaned, repaired, ornamented, finished, adapted for sale, broken up or demolished, or in which materials are transformed, including undertakings engaged in shipbuilding or in the generation, transformation or transmission of electricity or motive power of any kind;

(c) undertakings engaged in building and civil engineering work, including constructional, repair, maintenance, alteration and demolition work.

2. The competent authority shall define the line of division which separates industry from agriculture, commerce and other non-industrial occupations.

Article 2

For the purpose of this Convention the term "night" signifies a period of at least eleven consecutive hours, including an interval prescribed by the competent authority of at least seven consecutive hours falling between ten o'clock in the evening and seven o'clock in the morning; the competent authority may prescribe different intervals for different areas, industries, undertakings or branches of industries or undertakings, but shall consult the employers' and workers' organisations concerned before prescribing an interval beginning after eleven o'clock in the evening.

Article 3

Women without distinction of age shall not be employed during the night in any public or private industrial undertaking, or in any branch thereof, other than an undertaking in which only members of the same family are employed.

Article 4

Article 3 shall not apply—

(a) in cases of *force majeure*, when in any undertaking there occurs an interruption of work which it was impossible to foresee, and which is not of a recurring character;

(b) in cases where the work has to do with raw materials or materials in course of treatment which are subject to rapid deterioration when such night work is necessary to preserve the said materials from certain loss.

Article 5

1. The prohibition of night work for women may be suspended by the Government, after consultation with the employers' and workers' organi-

sations concerned, when in case of serious emergency the national interest demands it.

2. Such suspension shall be notified by the Government concerned to the Director-General of the International Labour Office in its annual report on the application of the Convention.

Article 6

In industrial undertakings which are influenced by the seasons and in all cases where exceptional circumstances demand it, the night period may be reduced to ten hours on sixty days of the year.

Article 7

In countries where the climate renders work by day particularly trying, the night period may be shorter than that prescribed in the above articles if compensatory rest is accorded during the day.

Article 8

This Convention does not apply to—

(a) women holding responsible positions of a managerial or technical character; and

(b) women employed in health and welfare services who are not ordinarily engaged in manual work.

PART II.—SPECIAL PROVISIONS FOR CERTAIN COUNTRIES

Article 9

In those countries where no Government regulation as yet applies to the employment of women in industrial undertakings during the night, the term "night" may provisionally, and for a maximum period of three years, be declared by the Government to signify a period of only ten hours, including an interval prescribed by the competent authority of at least seven consecutive hours falling between ten o'clock in the evening and seven o'clock in the morning.

Appendix C

STATE LAWS RELATING TO NIGHT WORK FOR WOMEN¹ (April 1, 1949)

At the present time, 18 States limit the employment of adult women at night in one or more industries, either by prohibiting all such employment within a specified period of hours or by establishing special regulations governing the working conditions of women employed at night. Some of the provisions shown below are in State statutes, others appear in current minimum-wage orders of the States. The 18 States having one or more such limitations are:

California	Massachusetts	North Dakota
Connecticut	Nebraska	Pennsylvania
Delaware	New Hampshire	South Carolina
Indiana	New Jersey	Utah
Kansas	New Mexico	Washington
Maryland	New York	Wisconsin

I. PROHIBITION OF NIGHT WORK

Thirteen of the above States prohibit the employment of women at night in one or more industries. In 8 of these States the law applies to manufacturing and in 12 of them to one or more nonmanufacturing industries. All but one of the States in the manufacturing group—Indiana—also prohibit night work for some nonmanufacturing industry.

Manufacturing (8 States)

Delaware	11 p.m.-6 a.m.	
Indiana	10 p.m.-6 a.m.	(12 to 6, if 2 shifts and employment does not exceed 8 hours a day, 5 days a week.) (Law's provisions suspended until Mar. 15, 1951.)
Kansas	9 p.m.-6 a.m.	
Massachusetts ²	11 p.m.-6 a.m.	
Nebraska	1 a.m.-6 a.m.	(Except on permit.)
New Jersey	12 midnight-7 a.m.	
New York	10 p.m.-6 a.m.	(12 to 6, if multiple shifts.)
Wisconsin	6 p.m.-6 a.m.	

Nonmanufacturing (12 States*)

California	8 p.m.-6 a.m.	Driving taxicabs or automobiles for hire.
Connecticut	After 10 p.m.	Bowling alley, shoe-shining establishment, or poolroom.
*Delaware	11 p.m.-6 a.m.	Mechanical establishment (includes beauty shop), laundry, baking, or printing establishment, office, or dressmaking establishment.
*Kansas	9 p.m.-6 a.m.	Laundry, dyeing, dry cleaning, or pressing establishment.
	After 9 p.m. ³	Mercantile establishment.
*Massachusetts ²	11 p.m.-6 a.m.	Mechanical establishment.
*Nebraska	1 a.m.-6 a.m.	Office in first-class cities.
	1 a.m.-6 a.m.	Mechanical or mercantile establishment, laundry, hotel, or restaurant, in first-class cities.
*New Jersey	12 midnight-7 a.m.	Bakery or laundry.
*New York	10 p.m.-7 a.m.	Mercantile establishment, beauty parlor; messengers or telegraph messengers; elevator operators.
	12 midnight-6 a.m.	Restaurant.
	10 p.m.-6 a.m.	Street-car conductors or guards.

North Dakota	11 p.m.-7 a.m.	Elevator operators.
South Carolina	After 10 p.m.	Mercantile establishment.
Washington	After 12 midnight	Elevator operators.
*Wisconsin	6 p.m.-6 a.m.	Laundry.
	5 p.m.-8 a.m.	Street-car conductors, motormen, or flagmen.
	(first-class cities)	
	5 p.m.-6 a.m.	
	(elsewhere)	
	6 p.m.-6 a.m.	Canning factory, before and after season of actual canning of product.

* States preceded by asterisk appear also in list applying to *Manufacturing*.

¹ Does not include laws whose application is limited to persons under 21 years of age.

² Commissioner of labor and industries is authorized to suspend until July 1, 1949, the application or operation of this prohibition.

³ Between June 1 and Sept. 15, mercantile establishments in agricultural communities may remain open until 10 p.m. on 1 day in week if permit is obtained from State labor department.

II. REGULATION OF NIGHT WORK

The following 11 States regulate in some manner the employment of women at night: California, Connecticut, Delaware, Kansas, Maryland, New Hampshire, New Mexico, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Utah, and Wisconsin. Included in the list are six States which also prohibit night work in one or more industries and which appear in Part I of this summary.

State	Regulation	Industry covered
California	Unless suitable transportation is available, women may not be required to report for work or be dismissed from work between 10 p.m. and 6 a.m. If a meal period occurs during these hours, facilities must be available for securing hot food or drink, or for heating food and drink, and a suitable, sheltered place must be provided in which to consume such food and drink.	Manufacturing; personal service; canning and preserving; professional, technical, clerical, and similar occupations; public housekeeping; laundry, dry cleaning, and dyeing; mercantile; transportation; industries handling farm products after harvest; amusement and recreation.
Connecticut	Labor commissioner is authorized: (1) To make regulations to protect the health and welfare of females, and (2) to prescribe adequate transportation facilities for women employed between 1 a.m. and 6 a.m. Unless employer complies with such regulations, and adequate transportation is available for the workers, commissioner may prohibit employment of females in the establishment during such hours.	Manufacturing, mechanical or mercantile establishment; restaurant, cafe, dining room, barber shop, hairdressing or manicuring establishment, photograph gallery. Professional employees in such establishments exempted.
Delaware	If any part of work is performed between 11 p.m. and 7 a.m., hours of employment may not exceed 8 a night. (Maximum for day work, 10 hours.)	Mercantile establishment, telephone and telegraph office or exchange, restaurant, hotel, place of amusement.
Kansas	If operator is regularly employed after 11 p.m., work time plus rest and sleep time may not exceed 12 hours in 24.	Telephone operators.
Maryland	If any part of work is performed between 10 p.m. and 6 a.m., hours of employment may not exceed 8 a night. (Maximum for day work, 10 hours.)	Manufacturing, mechanical, mercantile, printing, baking, or laundering establishment. Office work in such establishments and canning perishable fruits and vegetables exempted.
New Hampshire	Work between 8 p.m. and 6 a.m. on more than 2 nights a week is considered night work and such work may not exceed 8 hours in any 24 nor 48 hours in any week.	Manual or mechanical labor in any employment. Exempts household, boardinghouse, and farm labor; domestic, hotel, and cabin labor, including dining and restaurant service operated in connection therewith and incidental thereto; nursing; operators in telegraph and telephone offices; canning of perishable fruits and vegetables.

State	Regulation	Industry covered
New Mexico	Employment between 10 p.m. and 7 a.m. may not exceed 54 hours a week, 8 hours a night on 7 days of week. (Weekly maximum for day work, 48 hours a week.)	Telephone or telegraph office.
Pennsylvania	Night work permitted in establishment if provisions of State hours law and regulations of the industrial board are complied with. Applications for employment on a 2- or 3-shift basis must be made to the State labor department.	Manufacturing establishment.
	Employer is required to supply transportation for women and minors going off duty between 11 p.m. and 6 a.m., unless there is available and conveniently located public transportation.	Restaurant.
South Carolina	Employment at night may not exceed the weekly maximum set for day work—55 hours.	Cotton and woolen mill manufacturing yarns, cloth, hosiery, and other products of merchandise. ¹
Utah	Women employed between 10 p.m. and 6 a.m. may not be required to report for work or be dismissed from work during these hours, unless suitable transportation is available at no extra cost to worker.	Retail trade.
Wisconsin	Employment between 9 p.m. and 6 a.m. may not exceed 9 hours a night, 54 hours a week. (Maximum for day work, 10 a day, 55 a week.)	Hotel.
	Employment between 8 p.m. and 6 a.m. on more than one night a week may not exceed 8 hours a night, 48 hours a week. (Maximum for day work, 9 a day, 50 a week.)	Restaurant.

¹Law applies to both male and female employees, 16 years of age and over.

Appendix D

SUMMARY OF LIQUOR LAWS APPLICABLE TO HARTFORD, INDIANAPOLIS, AND ATLANTA

Throughout Connecticut the hours during which alcoholic beverages may be sold are limited by the Connecticut State Liquor Control Commission to between 9 a. m. and 1 a. m. on week days and between 12 noon and 9 p. m. on Sundays.

In Indiana the sale of alcoholic beverages is forbidden by the Indiana Alcoholic Beverage Commission between 12 p. m. and 7 a. m. No such beverages may be sold on Sundays.

In Atlanta a municipal ordinance forbids the consumption of "spiritous intoxicating liquors, mixed or plain, in or on any public place," such as a dining room, lobby, or other public place of a hotel and any similar place. Another city ordinance prohibits the sale of "any beer and wine" between 12 midnight and 6 a. m. of the following day, and from 12 midnight on Saturday until 6 a. m. of the following Monday.

Appendix E

DISTRIBUTION OF FULL-TIME EMPLOYEES IN DEPARTMENTS OF HOTELS
IN EACH AREA, BY ENDING HOUR OF SHIFT AND BY SEX

Ending hour of shift and sex	All areas ¹				Connecticut areas				Indiana areas				Atlanta			
	Department				Department				Department				Department			
	Total	Front office	House serv- ice	House- keep- ing	Mis- cella- neous	Total	Front office	House serv- ice	House- keep- ing	Mis- cella- neous	Total	Front office	House serv- ice	House- keep- ing	Total	Mis- cella- neous
Number of employees ---	1,670	247	443	731	249	453	73	87	206	87	595	95	161	246	622	93
Percent distribution																
Men and women ---	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
10 p.m. or earlier ---	70	46	47	91	76	74	42	51	96	75	69	51	47	85	68	82
After 10 p.m. ---	30	54	53	9	24	26	58	49	4	25	31	49	53	15	32	18
Men ---	47	65	68	14	85	47	69	74	15	78	47	57	69	15	46	81
10 p.m. or earlier ---	26	19	30	12	62	26	15	34	13	55	27	17	33	12	25	62
After 10 p.m. ---	21	46	38	2	23	21	54	40	2	23	20	40	36	3	21	19
Women ---	53	35	32	86	15	53	31	26	85	22	53	43	31	85	54	19
10 p.m. or earlier ---	44	27	16	78	14	49	27	16	83	20	42	34	14	73	44	19
After 10 p.m. ---	9	8	16	8	1	4	4	10	2	2	11	9	17	12	10	---

¹ Unweighted figures.Appendix F
SCHEDULE FORMSBudget Bureau No. 44-4708
Approval Expires 2-1-48U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
WOMEN'S BUREAU
WASHINGTON

NIGHT WORK STUDY — HOTEL SCHEDULE

- Name of Hotel _____ Address _____
- Person Interviewed _____ Position _____
- Type: Chain _____ Independent _____
Name of Chain _____ Address Main Office _____
- Characteristics:
 - Commercial _____ Residential or Apartment _____
 - Number of Guest Rooms, Suites or Apartments: Total Units _____
One-Room _____ Multiple-Room _____
 - Number of eating and/or drinking places _____
- Employment:
 - Total Employment (from Occupation List)

	Total	Male	Female
Front Office	_____	_____	_____
House Service	_____	_____	_____
Housekeeping	_____	_____	_____
Auxiliary Departments	_____	_____	_____
Entertainment	_____	_____	_____
Building Maintenance	_____	_____	_____
Administrative only	_____	_____	_____
Administrative and	_____	_____	_____
Other Duties	_____	_____	_____
Miscellaneous	_____	_____	_____
Total	_____	_____	_____

- Are there significant variations from the present size of the staff at any periods of the year? No _____ Yes _____ Periods, amount of variation and reasons: _____
- Is extra (noneating or drinking place) staff hired for special occasions involving work after 10 p.m. (conventions, meetings, banquets, dances, etc.) Yes _____ No _____
If so:

	Number	Dates or frequency of occasions
High	_____	_____
Low	_____	_____
Usual	_____	_____

- Auxiliary services operating between 10 p.m. and 6 a.m. (entertainment except in eating and drinking places; cigar and newsstand; laundry; garage, etc.). List services _____

6. Occupations and hours of work, last normal week (record on occupation list and time sheet). Number of time sheets attached to this schedule _____
7. A. Is there a bonus for work between 10 p.m. and 6 a.m.? No _____
Yes _____ If yes, give details (by occupation if necessary) _____

B. Comments on other factors affecting earnings of day, evening and night workers (including amounts collected in tips, overtime pay, etc.) _____

C. Comments on differences in working conditions, day, evening and night _____

8. Basis for assignments to work between 10 p.m. and 6 a.m. (age, sex, seniority, new workers, etc. Indicate whether resulting from management policy, collective bargaining, laws, etc.) _____

9. A. Are women employed between 10 p.m. and 6 a.m.? _____
Yes _____ No _____
B. If women are not employed, or hours are limited, give reasons and comments: _____

C. Is this employment schedule for women satisfactory from employer's viewpoint? _____
Yes _____ No _____ If not, give reasons: _____

10. Has hotel any union contracts (excluding eating and drinking places)? Yes _____ No _____

Name	Affiliation	Occupational groups covered

11. Transportation—Are arrangements or provisions made for transportation home for workers on shifts ending after 10 p.m.? If so, describe _____

Interviewer _____
Date _____

EMPLOYMENT AND HOURS OF WORK — HOTELS

Name of establishment _____

Week ending _____

Occupation	Total workers		Work between 10 p.m. and 6 a.m.			
	Male	Female	Male		Female	
			End 10-2	OD 2-6	End 10-2	OD 2-6
Operation—Front Office:						
Front Clerk						
Cashier						
Other (specify)						
House Service:						
House Detective						
Bellboy						
Elevator Starter						
Elevator Operator						
Porter						
Telephone Operator						
Doorman						
Valet						
Checkroom Attendant						
Restroom Attendant						
Other (specify)						
Housekeeping:						
Housekeeper						
Inspectress						
Linen-Room Girl						
Houseman						
Seamstress						
Chambermaid						
Other (specify)						
Auxiliary Departments:						
Cigar and Newsstand Clerk						
Laundry						
Garage and Parking Lot Attendants						
Barber Shop						
Beauty Parlor						
Other (specify)						
Entertainment:						
Musicians						
Other Entertainers						
Building Maintenance						
Administrative						
Miscellaneous (specify)						
Total this sheet						

Budget Bureau No. 44-4708
Approval Expires 2-1-48

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

WOMEN'S BUREAU

WASHINGTON

NIGHT-WORK STUDY — EATING AND DRINKING PLACE SCHEDULE

1. Name of Establishment _____ Address _____
(Include name of hotel or store if so located)
2. Person Interviewed _____ Position _____
3. Type: Chain _____ Independent _____
Name of Chain _____ Address Main Office _____
4. Characteristics:
 - A. Located in: Independent Unit _____ Hotel _____ Store (Type) _____
Other (specify) _____
 - B. Seating Capacity _____
 - C. Service: Table _____ Counter _____ Self _____ Room _____ Bar _____ Curb _____
 - D. Type: Restaurant and Lunch Room _____ Cafeteria _____
Lunch counter and refreshment stand _____
Drinking place _____
 - E. Serve: Light wines, beer, ale _____ Other liquors _____ None _____
 - F. Hours Open to Public:

	Open	Close	Open	Close	Open	Close	Hours Peak Load
Sun.							
Mon.							
Tue.							
Wed.							
Thur.							
Fri.							
Sat.							
 - G. Reasons for these Hours: (Location and consumer demand: workers, travelers, recreation, residential, etc.; cost factors: etc.) _____

 - H. Food Served: Continuously _____ Breakfast _____ Lunch _____
Dinner _____ Other (specify) _____
5. Employment:
 - A. Are there any workers (other than building maintenance and administrative) employed between 10 p.m. and 6 a.m.? No _____
Yes _____
 - B. If working hours in 5A are limited, are there any reasons for the limitations besides those given in 4G (e.g., limited by employer agreements, collective bargaining, ordinances, laws, etc.) No _____
Yes _____ Reasons _____

C. Total Employment

	Total	Male	Female
Kitchen	_____	_____	_____
Dining Room	_____	_____	_____
Administrative	_____	_____	_____
Miscellaneous	_____	_____	_____
Total	_____	_____	_____

D. Are there significant variations from the present size of the staff at any periods of the year? No _____ Yes _____ Periods, amount of variation and reasons: _____

E. Is extra staff (food preparation and serving) hired for special occasions involving work after 10 p.m. (dinner meetings, banquets, etc.)? Yes _____ No _____

Number	Dates or frequency of occasions
High _____	_____
Low _____	_____
Usual _____	_____

6. Occupations and hours of work, last normal week (record on occupation list and time sheet). Number of time sheets attached to this schedule _____

7. A. Is there a bonus for work between 10 p.m. and 6 a.m.? No _____
Yes _____ If yes, give details (by occupation if necessary) _____

B. Comments on other factors affecting earnings of day, evening and night workers (including amounts collected in tips, overtime pay, etc.) _____

C. Comments on differences in working conditions, day, evening and night _____

8. Basis for assignments to work between 10 p.m. and 6 a.m. (age, sex, seniority, new workers, etc. Indicate whether resulting from management policy, collective bargaining, laws, etc.) _____

9. A. Are women employed between 10 p.m. and 6 a.m.? Yes _____ No _____

B. If women are not employed, or hours are limited, give reasons and comments: _____

C. Is this employment schedule for women satisfactory from employer's viewpoint? Yes _____ No _____ If not, give reasons: _____

10. Has establishment any union contracts? Yes_____No_____

Name

Affiliation

Occupational groups covered

11. Transportation—Are arrangements or provisions made for transportation home for workers on shifts ending after 10 p.m.? If so, describe_____

Interviewer_____

Date_____

EMPLOYMENT AND HOURS OF WORK — EATING AND DRINKING PLACES

Name of establishment_____

Week ending_____

Occupation	Total workers		Work between 10 p.m. and 6 a.m.			
	Male	Female	Male		Female	
			End 10-2	OD 2-6	End 10-2	OD 2-6
Kitchen:						
Baker_____						
Chef_____						
Steward_____						
Cook_____						
Short Order Cook_____						
Dishwasher_____						
Food Checker_____						
Kitchen Helper_____						
Pantry Man_____						
Sandwich Man_____						
Steam Table Attendant_____						
Other (specify)_____						
Dining Room:						
Bartender_____						
Busboy_____						
Car Hop_____						
Counterman_____						
Head Waiter_____						
Hostess_____						
Waiter_____						
Room Service Waiter_____						
Other (specify)_____						
Miscellaneous:						
Cashier_____						
Checkroom Attendant_____						
Rest Room Attendant_____						
Musicians_____						
Other Entertainers_____						
Cigarette Girl_____						
Charwoman_____						
Other (specify)_____						
Administrative_____						
Total this sheet_____						

TIME SHEET

Hotel or Eating and Drinking Place (Name)

Worker ("Group" or Name)

Number Reported: Total

Occupation

Week Ending

BEGINNING AND ENDING HOURS

Sunday	AM-PM to	AM-PM to	AM-PM to	AM-PM to
Monday	AM-PM to	AM-PM to	AM-PM to	AM-PM to
Tuesday	AM-PM to	AM-PM to	AM-PM to	AM-PM to
Wednesday	AM-PM to	AM-PM to	AM-PM to	AM-PM to
Thursday	AM-PM to	AM-PM to	AM-PM to	AM-PM to
Friday	AM-PM to	AM-PM to	AM-PM to	AM-PM to
Saturday	AM-PM to	AM-PM to	AM-PM to	AM-PM to

Is there variation in weekly schedule:

Shift rotation (specify)

Split time (specify)

Other variations (specify)

List names, addresses, telephone numbers, and social security numbers of all persons covered by this sheet on the reverse side.

Budget Bureau No. 44-4708
Approval Expires 2-1-48U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
WOMEN'S BUREAU
WASHINGTON

NIGHT-WORK STUDY — EMPLOYEE SCHEDULE

1. Name Address

Social Security Number

Where Employed Occupation

Race: White Marital Status: Single

Negro Married

Other Separated

Widowed

Divorced

2. Living Arrangements: With Family Apart From Family

3. Family Household: A.

Relationship to Worker	Sex	Age: Worker and Under 21 Yrs.	Empl. Status	Days Worked Per Week	Hours Begin	Hours End
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Worker

B. Worker's Financial Responsibilities (enter proper code number)

C. 1. Who Cares For and/or Supervises: Worker at Home Worker Not at Home

a. Children under 6

b. Children 6 through 12

c. Others (specify)

2. Who Performs Household Duties

3. If Worker Were on Day Shift, Would More or Less Help Be Required for Above Duties?

4. Employment of Worker:

A. Time Worked Since January 1, 1937

Industry	Total Time	Time Fixed Shifts			Time Rotating Shifts	
		Day	Evening	Night	2—Shift	3—Shift

Present

Other (specify)

- B. Was any of Above Employment on Split Shifts? No_____ Yes_____Specify_____
- C. Time Worked for Present Employer_____
- D. Record on Time Sheet the Hours of Work, for the Week Ending_____
Same as Employer Record_____ Time Sheet Attached_____
- E. 1. Does Worker Receive Bonus for Work on Present Shift? No_____Yes_____Rate_____
2. Does Worker Ever Work Overtime on Present Job? No_____Yes_____
- If Yes:
- a. How Extensive is Such Overtime? _____
- b. Is Worker Paid an Overtime Rate? No_____Yes_____ Rate_____
3. a. Is the Amount Collected in Tips Higher: Evening_____ Night_____Day_____
- b. Comments on Tips_____
5. Night Work:
- A. Why is Worker on Present Shift?_____
- B. Does Work on Shifts Operating Between 10 p.m. and 6 a.m. Create Problems for the Worker Which do not Exist with Day-time Employment?_____
- C. Suggestions for Lessening or Solving These Problems_____
- D. 1. What Hours are Best Suited to Worker's Family Responsibilities?_____ Reasons:_____
2. Excluding Family Responsibilities, What Hours Would Worker Prefer?_____ Reasons:_____
- E. Do the Hours Worked by Other Members of the Family Household Aid or Complicate Family Life? Explain:_____
- F. Advantages and Disadvantages of Rotating Shifts:_____
- G. Advantages and Disadvantages of Split Shifts:_____
- Interviewer_____
- Date_____

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE, WASHINGTON : 1949

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office
Washington 25, D. C. - Price 20 cents